

**Paramilitary  
victim of BNP debt**  
INVESTIGATION p 12



**Armed and  
dangerous**  
INTERNATIONAL p 34



**England team  
in Auschwitz**  
LAST WORD p 46



# HOPE not hate

Providing a positive  
antidote to hate  
and intolerance

July-August 2012  
Issue no. 3  
Price £3.50

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# HOPE not hate

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anti-racist publication

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to combat them.

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## Celebrating who we are

Over the next couple of months the eyes of the world will turn to Britain as we host the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Seven years in the planning, billions of pounds spent and thousands of hours of training, the Games are the world's premier sporting event. The organisers and the Government obviously view it as an opportunity to showcase Britain to the outside world and through that boost tourism and trade.

But there is also the true spirit of the Olympics. The International Olympic Committee has described the mission of *Olympic Spirit* as "to build a peaceful and better world in the *Olympic Spirit* which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play." It concludes that the *Olympic Spirit* seeks "to promote tolerance and understanding in these increasingly troubled times in which we live, to make our world a more peaceful place."

We totally agree. That is why we are looking to use the growing excitement around the Olympics to promote modern Britain and the people who live within it. We live in a world where news is generally bad and fear dominates. This is especially true with popular coverage of immigrants, minority communities and Muslims – all of which are too regularly viewed as negative and problematic.

Of course there are real problems within society and many of these are being exacerbated with austerity, which will only increase fear and division. But with that said there is much we can and should celebrate. Britain is a multicultural and multi-ethnic society and there is nothing the racists can do about that. Over the next few weeks HOPE not hate, in association with the *Daily Mirror*, will be trumpeting our ever-evolving shared identity, whilst also celebrating our diversity, through our

Britain Tastes Great initiative.

To us this is the success story of Britain that we would like the world to see.

### On the frontline

On page 28 we report on the conviction of a violent English Defence League supporter who viciously attacked two young Muslim men during a demonstration in Dagenham last year. Steven Crispin's conviction was only secured because of the evidence provided to the police and court by HOPE not hate journalists. Our photographers, despite a total absence of police and being attacked several times themselves, refused to be intimidated and remained in place to record the moment the two Muslim men walking home were so violently assaulted.

The EDL have been issuing numerous death threats to HOPE not hate staff, some of which are now under investigation by police. Of course no-one likes being threatened but if these thugs think they can intimidate us into silence they are badly mistaken. They only spur us on.

### Continuing the tradition

In this edition of HOPE not hate we remember the formation of the 1962 Committee, a group of Jewish anti-fascists who came together 50 years ago after opposing a demonstration in Trafalgar Square organised by the hardline nazi Colin Jordan. The 62 Group, as it became better known, ran the Nazis ragged for the next few years. The legacy of this group can be found in the work of the Community Security Trust, Searchlight and HOPE not hate.

The world is today very different from 1962 and our enemies have changed tactics and battleground but the commitment and desire to oppose race hatred and extremism burns as strongly within us as it did with those brave men and women back then.

## INSIDE

PAGE 12



### EXPOSED: THE BNP LEADER'S FINANCIAL SHENANIGANS

PAGE 32



### THE IDEOLOGY THAT DROVE ANDERS BREVIK'S ATTACKS

PAGE 46



### REMINDING PEOPLE OF THE HORRORS OF THE HOLOCAUST

#### HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and 50,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises Searchlight Information Services and our charitable wing, the Searchlight Educational Trust.

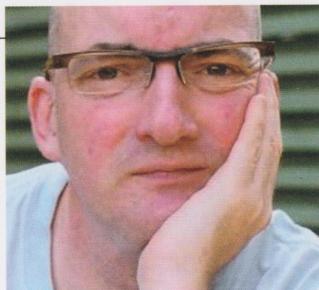
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**FIYAZ MUGHAL**

Fiyaz Mughal is Director of Faith Matters, an interfaith and anti-extremist organisation. In *The Future of Co-existence is Under Threat in Israel*, Fiyaz reflects on his time visiting a peace village in Israel recently subject to attack by right wing extremists.



**MARK PERRYMAN**

Mark Perryman is a political activist, co-founder of Philosophy Football and the author of *Why The Olympics Aren't Good For Us, And How They Can Be*. In *England, Team GB and the summer of 2012*, Mark looks at the impact the Jubilee, Euro 2012 and the Olympics will have on our national identity.



**KAREN POLLOCK**

Karen Pollock is the Chief Executive of the Holocaust Educational Trust. In the *Last Word* she explains what the Trust does, why she got involved and the recent visit to Auschwitz by members of the England football team.



**HOPE  
not hate**



**The Lancashire Association of Trades Union Councils and North East Lancs TUC – celebrating kicking the BNP off Burnley Council after 10 years of campaigning. We will continue the fight until the last BNP councillors on Pendle and Lancashire Councils are beaten along with Nick Griffin in the next Euro-elections**

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LATUC President: **Dave Wilson.**

[www.latuc.co.uk](http://www.latuc.co.uk)

North East Lancashire TUC Secretary: **Peter Thorne.**

[www.burnleytuc.org](http://www.burnleytuc.org)

MATTHEW COLLINS  
WITH A FOREWORD BY BILLY BRAGG

# HATE

MY LIFE IN THE BRITISH FAR RIGHT

"hard-hitting and darkly comic" METRO

"a timely riff on the past 25 years of the UK far right" THE INDEPENDENT

"brilliantly told, incredibly funny" JON CRUDAS MP



NEW AND REVISED EDITION

# HATE

## My Life in the British Far Right

by Matthew Collins

**£10.24 inc p&p**

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Belfast Telegraph

*"Hard hitting and often darkly comic prose of the years he spent with those who planned world domination."*

Metro (book of the week)

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Sunday World

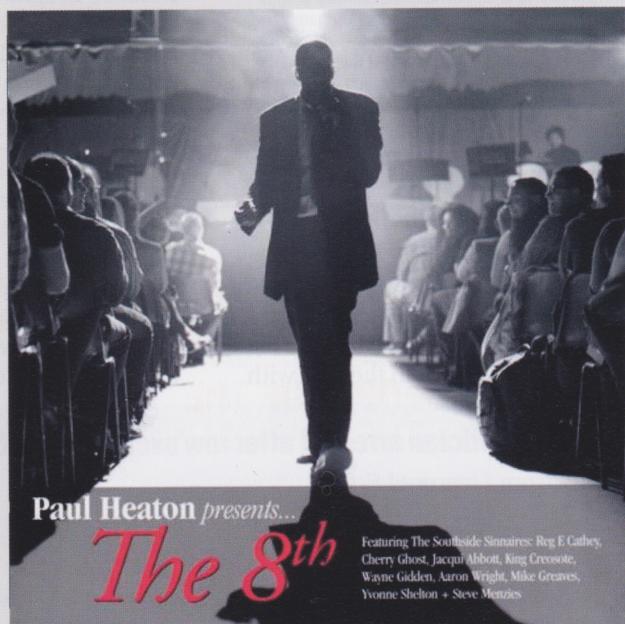


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Paul Heaton presents...

# The 8th

Featuring The Southside Sinnaires: Reg E Cathey, Cherry Ghost, Jacqui Abbott, King Creosote, Wayne Gidden, Aaron Wright, Mike Greaves, Yvonne Shelton + Steve Menezes

# Paul Heaton

# The 8th

OUT NOW  
THROUGH PROPER RECORDS

## Anti-Jubilee protester set alight at Newcastle EDL demonstration

Report from *Sky Tyne & Wear*

A TEENAGER was taken to hospital when his hair was set alight by English Defence League supporters who attacked an anti-Jubilee party in Newcastle in June.

The 18-year-old was hit by a burning firework thrown during the clash at Grey's Monument between more than 100 English Defence League and National Front members and anti-Jubilee protesters.

Footage captured by Sky reporters show firecrackers and missiles being thrown into the crowd, fights, and EDL members making apparent Nazi salutes.

The teenager was taken to Newcastle Freeman Hospital for treatment to burns suffered when the explosive hit his face and landed in his hood.



HOPE not hate discovered that the person caught on video throwing fireworks is an EDL activist, Anthony Craggs (right), from Chester Le Street in County Durham. Craggs is a regular face at EDL events and has been photographed with EDL leaders Tommy Robinson aka Stephen Yaxley Lennon and Kevin Carroll. The information has been passed on to Northumbria police.

## Victims sprayed with liquid in 'racist' attacks in Gloucester

Report from *The Citizen*

A TERRIFIED schoolgirl was among the victims of a series of apparently racist attacks.

Amara Jaffer was hit in the face with

an unknown liquid just metres from her home in May.

The 13-year-old and at least four others were targeted by occupants of a red Transit van.

They were all sprayed in the face and on their clothes with an unknown substance.

Police say the attacks had a "very nasty racist element".

Two of the victims reported being racially abused by the van's occupants. The liquid is believed to be "non-noxious".

Gloucester Chief Inspector

Richard Burge said the victims were "understandably very distressed by their ordeal". He added: "There was a very nasty racist element to this but at the moment we believe it is likely to have been a spontaneous incident in appalling taste rather than a planned campaign."

A 26-year-old man from Tipton, West Midlands was arrested on suspicion of assault and criminal damage and bailed to attend Gloucester police station on 6 September.

## EDL man in court drama

Report from *Lancashire Evening Post*

THE SENTENCING of a group of English Defence League (EDL) supporters was adjourned for a second time after the man dubbed their "commander" collapsed in court at the end of May.

Judge Norman Wright postponed the Preston Crown Court case after being told Bernard Holmes was lying "semi comatose" in the public gallery.

Representing him, Jeremy Lasker said Holmes had just come out of hospital and was on painkillers for pancreatitis, as well as suffering diabetes.

The court previously heard about a day of protests the defendants were involved

in on 2 July last year.

Emma Kehoe, prosecuting, said police saw a large group gathered on a pub car park in Blackburn.

Some visited an Asda store in Accrington to protest at selling and labelling of Halal meat, before delivering a letter to MEP Sajjad Karim's home in Simonstone.

Around 36 EDL supporters, including the defendants, later went to Brierfield.

## Met Police special constable convicted of racial abuse

Report from *Croydon Today*

A SPECIAL police constable has been convicted of racially abusing a man on a Croydon train.

Luke Smith, 27, was fined £300 for racially abusing a 48-year-old member of rail staff on board a train travelling between Gatwick and East Croydon on 5 October last year.

Smith, of Wandsworth, was found guilty of a racially aggravated public order offence at Croydon Magistrates' Court on 16 May. He was found not guilty of fare evasion.

The Met said such "appalling behaviour would not be tolerated on or off duty".

British Transport Police (BTP) officers were called to the scene at 3.15am and Smith was arrested.

Smith was later charged with a racially aggravated public order offence and fare evasion.

As well as the £300 fine, he was ordered to pay £685 towards court costs, a £15 victim surcharge and £100 compensation each to the victim and another member of rail staff on board the train at the time.

Smith, who is based in Westminster, was off-duty at the time of the incident. He is currently suspended from duty.

## Far right politician arrested after row over Rainbow flag

Report from *Liverpool Echo*

A FAR RIGHT politician was held in cells for almost six hours for objecting to a pro-gay rights flag flying above a police station.

English Democrat Paul Rimmer, who recently failed in his bid to become mayor of Liverpool, was arrested after an argument in Admiral Street Police station, Toxteth. Mr Rimmer demanded to know why the Rainbow Flag was flying above the station.

The 49-year-old, who says he is a devout Christian, argued with a female member of staff in the police station and quoted from the Bible at her.

After leaving the station he was arrested.

A spokesman said: "Merseyside Police can confirm a 49-year-old man was arrested in Toxteth on Saturday, May 19, on suspicion of a Section 5 Public Order offence.

"The man was spoken to by officers and has been released pending further enquiries."

He said the force had not received any complaints about the treatment of Mr Rimmer.

Merseyside Police were flying the Rainbow flag to mark Idaho (International Day Against Homophobia).



Why a bloody day against Homophobia?  
Are you suggesting there are a load of angry, uptight bigots out there?



## Failed National Front candidate stews in the cells

Report from *Liverpool Echo*

FAILED NATIONAL Front Liverpool mayoral candidate Peter Tierney (pictured) was made to stew in the cells after "disrupting" a court hearing.

Chaos erupted at the city's magistrates' court when the 55-year-old refused to identify himself to judge Miriam Shelves. Tierney, of Hale

Village, was among four people there to face public order charges after being arrested outside a high-profile sex grooming trial on 1 May.

They were accused of refusing to remain within a legally-designated protest zone in Derby Square.

But within minutes of entering the court, Tierney found himself hauled down to the cells by security officers for Contempt of Court.

He was locked up, along with co-defendant Phil Marriot, 54, for around 90 minutes.

After refusing to identify himself and speaking over the district judge despite warnings, she told guards: "Take him to the cells.. You are now held in contempt. They won't identify themselves, take them down because they are disrupting my court."

When Tierney later appeared he pleaded not guilty to the section 14 charge, as did his co-accused. The accused will face trial on 29 August.

## Man arrested for 'Nazi flag race-hate' at Barking flats

Report from *London 24*

A MAN was arrested on suspicion of inciting racial hatred after police said a Nazi flag was displayed in full public view at a block of flats.

The 54-year-old was quizzed after the large swastika flag was spotted in a window at a block on the Gascoigne Estate in Barking, said police.

Officers visited the flat and the flag was taken down.

The Met said displaying material inciting hatred is a criminal offence under the Public Order Act 1986.

The man was put on police bail while the Crown examines the case.

A Met spokesman said: "A 54-year-old man was arrested under section 18 of the Public Order Act 1986, which states that it is a criminal offence to use words or behaviour or display material with intent to incite racial hatred."

"The flag has now been removed by police. The suspect has been released on police bail pending a decision from the Crown Prosecution Service."

## Woman jailed for racist abuse on tube train

Report from *Sky News*

A WOMAN whose racist abuse of fellow passengers on a packed Tube train became an internet hit was jailed for 21 weeks in May at Westminster Magistrates Court.

Jacqueline Woodhouse, 42, from Romford in Essex was filmed ranting at passengers on a Central Line train in January.

The video, filmed by passenger Galbant Juttla, was uploaded onto YouTube and has now been viewed 200,000 times.

Mr Juttla was returning from a funeral when the incident happened.

Woodhouse is seen in the seven-minute video carrying out an expletive-laden rant at passengers.

She repeatedly asks them: "Where are you from? Where are you from?"

One passenger is heard to say: "I'm British."

She pleaded guilty at an earlier hearing to a charge of racially aggravated assault.



## Newton Abbot skinheads are jailed for racist attack on taxi driver

Report from *Western Morning News*

A PAIR of tattooed skinheads have been jailed for a racist attack which left an Asian taxi driver too injured to work for two months.

Stephen Wills and Andrew Cronin racially abused their victim as they punched and kicked him, leaving him with a shattered thumb, a broken nose, and dislodged teeth.

Wills and Cronin were among a group of friends from Newton Abbot who missed the last train home after a night out in Exeter and then argued with taxi drivers about the cost of a fare into the centre of the city.

They set on cabbie Sarwar Amiri, who said he was punched so hard he felt as if he had been hit by a car.

Other drivers on the rank at St David's station said they thought the

attackers were so violent they looked like professional fighters.

Labourer Wills, 23, and window fitter Cronin, 21, both admitted affray.

Wills was jailed for 11 months and Cronin for eight at Exeter Crown Court. Wills received a longer sentence because he has previous convictions for violence.

## Councillor suspended over Twitter remarks

Report from *Bournemouth Echo*

A COUNCILLOR has suspended herself from the Conservative Party after a row over remarks she made on Twitter.

Cllr Sue Anderson, of Bournemouth's Moordown ward, said online that only the right-wing English Defence League "sticks up for the English".

She has referred herself to her party's disciplinary procedures and the standards board.

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/)  
scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Investigation: BNP finances page 12



## NORWAY | Utøya brave testify against terrorist

FROM TOR BACH FOR VEPSEN IN OSLO

THE TRIAL of Norwegian terrorist and mass murderer Anders B. Breivik has become something far more important than just a process of providing the grim evidence of Breivik's acts of mass murder. It has also become a vivid expression of young people's heroism and will to survive and, crucially, to help their friends to survive.

In all the testimonies from Utøya, there are stories of people who stemmed someone's bleeding, who hid a wounded comrade, or carried someone into hiding. From the young Chechen boy who attacked Breivik with stones, to the young boy who ran out from a cliff with a wounded girl in his arms, to the brave young man who threw himself in front of the bullets intended for a young girl, these stories are almost unique in peacetime European history.



## SPAIN | Nazis hit streets in Madrid

FROM SANDRA CORTES FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG IN MADRID

NAZI AND Falangist groups gathered around a thousand people in Madrid on 25 May in a demonstration against separatism, coinciding with Spanish FA Cup Final between the Catalan FC Barcelona and the Basque AC Bilbao. The protesters carried banners with SS insignia, made Hitler salutes and bawled insults against Catalonia and the Basque Country. Ten nazis, meanwhile, have been charged with involvement in Spain's largest distributor of music and other nazi merchandise. The company, Soportes Sonoros SL, selling nazi material around the world, was smashed by the police. Among the accused are members of two prominent nazi hate bands: Batallón de Castigo and Más Que Palabras. They are accused of conspiracy and incitement to hatred. Batallón de Castigo was founded, in the early 1990s, in a prison where its leader was serving a sentence for murder. Another nazi in the dock is a 27-year-old man, known only as CMLC who ran a nazi website from Albacete and has been arrested for spreading and storing sexual images of minors while Atletico Madrid hooligan Ricardo Guerra, the nazi murderer of the young Basque, Aitor Zabaleta, in 1998 was caught with over 1.5 kg of hashish by guards of the prison where he is doing time for a knife attack

## GERMANY | German police try to clear path for nazis

FROM MICHAEL KLEIN FOR ANTIFA-NET IN HAMBURG

NAZIS, UNDER the leadership of activists from Northern Germany held their so-called "Day of a German Future" in Hamburg on 2 June. This event, held in several north German cities since 2009, is an openly racist gathering in which a racially pure Germany is promoted.

Although the organisers, including leaders like Thomas Wulff and Christian Worch, had mobilised for months, just 500 fascists showed up, half of what they had hoped for.

In the run-up to the demonstration,

the local court had offered the nazis a route through a district in the north of the city but, on 2 June, the area was blockaded by 3,000 militant anti-fascists. As a result, the nazi march was prevented from starting for more than two hours while police tried violently to clear a path using water cannons and batons and detaining over 700 people.

Earlier, 10,000 people had demonstrated against the nazis at the city centre's Rathausplatz under the banner "Hamburg shows its True Colours."

## NETHERLANDS | Wilders loses law suit

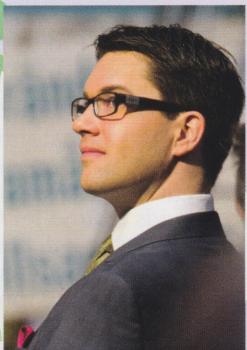
FROM JEROEN BOSCH IN AMSTERDAM FOR ALERT! AND ANTIFA-NET

TO GRAB headlines and portray himself and his Freedom Party (PVV) as defenders of the Netherlands' sovereignty, Geert Wilders filed a lawsuit against the Dutch State in May. The reason for this was that, since he himself pulled the plug on the previous coalition at the end of April, parliament and the caretaker government, have continued to make decisions on the 700 billion emergency fund, the European Stability Mechanism (ESM), which helps European countries struggling to maintain their debt repayments.

On 1 June, a judge in The Hague ruled that he cannot interfere in the political system since that is, constitutionally, the domain of parliament and government. Wilders has tried several times to postpone a vote on the ESM but failed.



Christian Worch



Sweden Democrats leader  
Jimmie Åkesson

## SWEDEN | Party veteran leaves over Israel stance

FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

LOCAL POLITICIAN and party veteran Solveig Renhammar-Metus announced her resignation from the far-right Sweden Democrats (SD) in May on the grounds that Jews have infiltrated and control the party. "Sweden Democrats do not work for Sweden anymore. I don't think Jimmie Åkesson (the party leader) has much of an influence any longer," Renhammar-Metus said.

Mattias From, vice chairman of the local SD organisation in Kungsbacka said on his website that Renhammar-Metus' decision to leave the party was unfortunate, further claiming that the SD's youth organisation is in a conflict with the "zionists" in the party. As a result of his statement, there are now

moves being made to exclude him from the organisation..

Many Sweden Democrats criticise the party's line on Israel. In November last year, the youth wing chairman, Gustav Kasselstrand, wrote an article in *Aftonbladet*, one of Sweden's largest newspapers, lashing the party's pro-Israeli stance. The article was met with irritation and there has been an attempt to replace Kasselstrand as chairman. The youth organisation, however, still stands firmly behind him. The SD's local vice chairman in Ale, Eddie Påvelsson, was also forced to leave the party in May after he stated, in an interview, that national socialism is "an ideology of love".

## BELGIUM | Former VB MP convicted for racism

BY WIM HAELESTERMAN FOR AFF/VERZET – RÉSISTANCES, BRUSSELS

FRANS WYMEERSCH (59), a former MP for the far-right Vlaams Belang and head of the party's branch in Sint-Niklaas, is in big trouble. Charged with "incitement to racial hatred" he was given a suspended 4 months' sentence on the 4 June by a court in Dendermonde.

Wymeersch (pictured) is a long-term Flemish nationalist who helped establish the Vlaams Blok (the predecessor of the Vlaams Belang) in the 1970s. In 2005, he blamed immigrants in the party's magazine for destroying gravestones at a churchyard in the town.

The former mayor of Sint-Niklaas, Freddy Willockx (SP.a, Labour), and the federal anti-racist bureau (CGKR) brought the case to court soon after the publication of a scandalous article on the matter that turned out to be completely wrong. Seven years later, the court judged that the article drew a hateful picture of an ethnic minority and stated that intolerable articles like these could lead to violence.

Besides the suspended sentence, Wymeersch also faces a 1.375 euro (£1,110) fine and has lost his civil rights for ten years, a verdict that puts his participation in the next local elections in October and his entire political future seriously in doubt. Wymeersch has declared he will appeal against the court ruling.



## AUSTRIA | "Odd perspective" scam discredits FPÖ

FROM MARTIN JORDAN FOR UNITED IN VIENNA

MARTIN GRAF (pictured), the third President of Austria's National Council, has been blasted for allegedly defrauding a 90-year-old lady. He and two other Freedom Party (FPÖ) officials, it appears, established a private foundation, using the savings of pensioner Gertrud Meschar, supposedly to safeguard her assets and support her old age. In reality, however,

they used it for their personal benefit instead. Ms. Meschar now says she feels cheated by Graf who has resigned from the foundation's board of directors.

Since this story hit the headlines in Austria, Graf has found himself confronted with an avalanche of criticism and public calls to resign from his political post. Far-right FPÖ boss Heinz-Christian Strache admits the case has an "odd perspective...even if there is no criminal offence".



- For the latest international news visit [www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/international/) or scan the QR code right >>
- Country in Focus: Hungary page 38



## CHILE | Police clash with anti-Pinochet demonstrators

Report from BBC

HUNDREDS OF DEMONSTRATORS in Chile clashed with the police on 11 June after the screening of a documentary praising the former military government of General Augusto Pinochet.

The mayor of the capital, Santiago, Pablo Zalaquett, said police were attacked in several areas of the city centre and that there was extensive damage to property.

Police used tear gas and water cannon to break up the demonstration.

The screening has pitted supporters of the late general, who claim the right to free speech, against relatives of victims of his regime, who are outraged at the tone of the documentary.

General Pinochet led a coup against the democratically-elected Marxist president of Chile, Salvador Allende, on 11 September 1973 and only left power in 1990.

The Chilean government estimates that more than 3,000 people were killed during the Pinochet years, including those whose bodies have not been found. Thousands more were tortured, arrested or forced into exile during his rule.

## SOUTH AFRICA | Six white people arrested linked to 'revenge killing' for Eugene Terreblanche murder

Report from Daily Telegraph

FIVE WHITE MEN and one white woman, were arrested on 1 June in a raid on a house east of Johannesburg. During a search, police found sixteen guns and 15 swords, along with ammunition, camouflage outfits and a swastika badge.

Detectives believe that at least one of the weapons could be linked to the murder of Sibusiso Titimani, who was beaten and stabbed to death in open land near his shanty town a couple of weeks earlier, in an alleged revenge killing by white supremacists for the murder of their former leader Eugene Terreblanche. They are also investigating whether there is a racial element to a series of other recent attacks and murders in the area, known as Primrose East.

## ISRAEL | Tel Aviv race riot flags bitter immigration dispute

Report from Express Tribune/IHT

VIOLENT RACE riots that shook south Tel Aviv at the end of May sparked shock in Israel.

The latest unrest to sweep the impoverished neighbourhoods around Tel Aviv's central bus station erupted when a demonstration of around 1,000 people who were protesting against the rising number of Africans moving into the area, turned violent.

"Shock, violence and hatred of foreigners in Tel Aviv" was the headline in the *Maariv* daily, which described scenes of chaos as demonstrators went on the rampage with sticks and stones, attacking African-run shops and smashing up a car driven by two African men.

"Blacks out!" shouted demonstrators in the crowd, while others yelled: "Send the Sudanese back to Sudan," several news reports said, as other protesters derided the "bleeding-heart leftists" working to help them.

Police spokesman Micky Rosenfeld said 20 people had been arrested on suspicion of vandalising shops and attacking cars driven by Africans, but added that there were no reports of anyone being injured.

The violence made headlines in all the Israeli media, with army radio denouncing it as a "pogrom."

President Shimon Peres said that "hating foreigners is against the foundations of Judaism."



## USA | New York City principal denies being white supremacist

From Eric O'Neill in Washington

FRANK BORZELLIERI, the former principal of Our Lady of Mount Carmel School in New York City, is claiming he was fired after the well-respected *New York Daily News* (NYDN) published a story about him. He is now suing the newspaper.

In its story, the NYDN revealed that in 2004, Borzellieri wrote the book *Don't Take It Personally: Race, Immigration,*

*Crime and Other Heresies* in which he argues that black and Latino Americans will create a "New Dark Age." The school he oversaw, ironically, is made up largely of black and Latino students. Mount Carmel's pastor, the Rev. Eric Rapaglia, knew of Borzellieri's views, but didn't "see any cause for concern" when he hired him. Rev. Rapaglia added bizarrely that "A lot of his ideas would actually benefit minorities".

In May 2011, Borzellieri was announced as a speaker at a meeting of the Maryland Chapter of the Council of

Conservative Citizens, the reconstituted white citizen's council that fought to defend segregation during the 1960s Civil Rights' movement. Borzellieri has written for *American Renaissance* which the Anti-Defamation League describes as "white supremacist" and which the Southern Poverty Law Center calls a "white nationalist" journal.

*Guest column...*

# The Future of Co-Existence is Under Threat in Israel

Interfaith specialist *Fiyaz Mughal* reflects on his time visiting a peace village in Israel recently subject to attack.

WHEN I FIRST visited the village of Neve Shalom Wahat Al Salam – which was attacked by right-wing extremists in June – I visited a place of peace. Its name means Oasis of Peace and that is exactly what I found in 2006. Based in a fertile plain where the armies of the Crusaders and Saladin fought, Neve Shalom is today the story of 50 families who have made the courageous decision to try and live together as a small community.

Overlooking the fertile fields where religious wars were fought for Jerusalem, the village is a shining example of what could be achieved if equality and dignity are placed at the heart of personal relationships in Israel, instead of the constant diatribe of division based on race and religion.

The families are Palestinian/Israeli Arabs who have decided to live with their fellow Jewish citizens on the basis of equality and mutual respect. What is so courageous is that these families have had to live and work through some of the most incredible moral and political dilemmas that pull apart their communities.

In the village's heart is a spiritual centre, a quiet space for reflection where members of this mixed community come to find their solace. When I visited in 2006 the village was having problems raising funds for its continued survival; with no government grants the main income sources were from what villagers produced and sold and from international grants and donations from Europe and the US. Effectively, people of goodwill who still believed in Jews and Arabs living together supported this dream.



Fiyaz Mughal OBE director of Faith Matters

For me, as a Muslim, I have clung onto that dream and to the memories of the fertile plains around the village in the hope that Jews and Arabs, cousins within faith, can live and work together and where the rights of all individuals are equal under law. Yet, on 10 June an attempt was made to shatter that dream. News filtered through from the Treasurer of the Board of Deputies of British Jews that Neve Shalom had been attacked by extremist Jewish settlers. They had spray-painted 'Price Tag' on the walls of buildings and then went onto slash the tyres of 14 cars in the village. (Some pro-settler extremists use the term "Price Tag" for acts of violence carried

out in ostensible response to actions that harm their cause.) Just to add insult to injury they scrawled 'revenge' and 'death to Arabs' on the elementary school and public buildings. Supporters of the extremist American Israeli Rabbi Meir Kahane, who was gunned down in 1990, blamed the Arabs in Neve Shalom for their possible eviction from the neighbouring settlement of Ulpana. Yet the eviction order was already in place through a Supreme Court of Israel ruling and had nothing to do with Arabs.

The attack on Neve Shalom should not be seen as an attack on a village in Israel by a small group of extremists. It was an attack on all of us who believe that peace is possible in the Middle East. It was a racist attack based on the faulty perception that one race has no equal rights in Israel. The attack on the village was also an attack on the middle ground in Israel; against those who believe that co-existence is possible and where minority rights and due process can be protected. More sickeningly, it was an attack on those who chose to reject the narratives of division promoted so well in Israel and other Middle Eastern states, and who had made the toughest choice to live with 'the other'.

What is essential is that the Israeli government takes action to find and put the perpetrators through the courts, thereby sending a message that citizens should not be subject to such perverse hate crimes. If the Netanyahu Government fails to do so, it will send a green light to those who foment and promote hate attacks, telling them that the spirit of co-existence is dying, if not dead. If that is the case, I personally dread to think of what the future holds in the region. Neve Shalom is one of only a few beacons of hope within Israel for the dream of co-existence. If that flame is put out, then with it goes a unique and cherished piece of Israeli history – and we must never allow that to happen.

■ **Fiyaz Mughal OBE** is director of **Faith Matters**, an interfaith and anti-extremist organisation based in the UK.  
<http://faith-matters.org/>

# Money matters

**It was a trial that went largely unnoticed by the British media, but in a court room in Carlisle in June British National Party leader Nick Griffin gave evidence against a Belfast businessman accused of blackmail and trying to obtain money through menaces. It was a case which offered a glimpse into the BNP's outsourcing of its operation to Belfast between 2007-2010 and its burdening debt. Caught in the middle was a man reputed to have links with Loyalist paramilitaries who saw in the BNP a quick way to make some money. By Matthew Collins**

Carlisle crown court was hardly the most salubrious venue for Nick Griffin's latest court appearance but at least on this occasion he could take solace that he was not the defendant. After years of battling employment tribunals from unfairly sacked staff, legal wranglings over the party constitution and copyright infringement with Marmite, Griffin was on this occasion the victim.

Across the court room was David Sloan, a thickset 33-year-old businessman from Belfast, who, it was alleged, threatened Griffin and his family and tried to extort money through intimidation. Sloan ran Romac, a printing business, which during 2009 and 2010 did a considerable amount of work for the BNP. This included the printing of 14 million leaflets for the party's 2010 General Election campaign at a cost of £44,000 which they refused to pay.

Sloan got angry, allegedly made telephone and

text threats to the Griffin family. Nick Griffin's daughter even alleged that she had almost been driven off the road after a five-mile car chase while Griffin claimed that Sloan had sold the debt onto the Loyalist paramilitary group, the Ulster Defence Association.

Given all these ingredients it was even more surprising that no national journalists covered the case.

From the outset it was clear that Sloan had little chance of escaping justice. On the second day of the trial one journalist described Sloan's fate as being akin to a "death of a thousand cuts". By the sixth day, as the Belfast businessman gave evidence in his own defence, his chances had become even worse. Drenched in sweat it was evident that

David Sloan was facing a Goliath he had no chance of defeating.

Both the judge and the prosecution expressed growing frustration throughout the trial with Sloan's defence. Prematurely greying and bankrupt, Sloan

was forlorn and without friends. His evidence was at times manic, but always desperate and changing. He had suffered a nervous breakdown earlier in the year and claimed that he had made his original statements under duress. At times it seemed as if he did not even understand the seriousness of the seven charges laid against him.

When his bail was revoked on the sixth day he wavered in the dock, it looked like he would break down in tears, probably not for the first time since agreeing to do business with the BNP in 2008.

By December 2010, with the BNP refusing to pay its printing bill, Sloan passed the debt on to a recovery agency based in Liverpool but during his testimony Nick Griffin claimed the debt was also "sold" to the Loyalist paramilitary group the Ulster Defence Association (UDA).

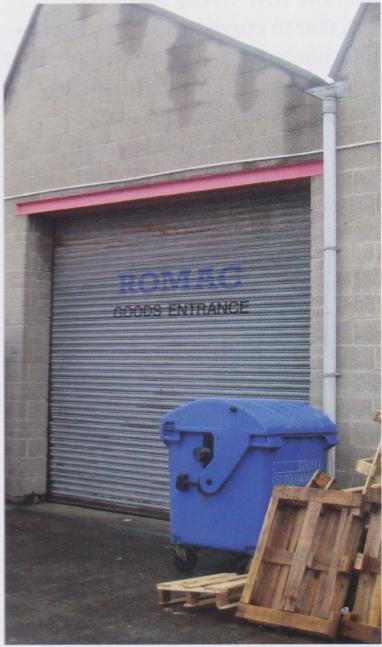
David Sloan has no known links to the UDA but rather it is with the rival Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF), that both he and his father, Albert are allegedly aligned.

While the prosecution were

Jenny Matthys,  
daughter of BNP  
chief Nick Griffin



"(right) David Sloan regrets doing business with the BNP  
Photo: *Sunday World*  
(below) Romac printers,  
owed money by the BNP



concerned by what they described as Griffin's "celebrity" it was clear that it was more his infamy that concerned them. Jurors were asked on a number of occasions to not surf the internet for any background on the case, the BNP or indeed Griffin. What the jury made of the heated and barbed exchanges between Griffin and Sloan's barrister Adrian Davis, who has been a long-time opponent of Griffin within the far right, we shall never know. Davis queried Griffin's assertion that it was the UDA who had been sold the debt but that was as close as the either the judge or the prosecution got to the seedy world of internal BNP sniping.

The judge made clear to the jury that Nick Griffin nor the BNP were on trial. The jury were also told to try and forget the controversy that surrounded Nick Griffin's ill fated appearance on Question Time in October 2009. The prosecution made it clear that this case was not being heard in "a polling booth" and so throughout the case, any reference to other BNP debts and disputes was firmly shut down before it could be properly heard.



The case centred around a series of threatening phone calls and text messages made during March 2011 coinciding with Sloan and three other "physically imposing" men arriving as foot passengers on a ferry from Northern Ireland to Stranraer, in Scotland on 1 March 2011 and continuing after Sloan's return to Northern Ireland a day later.

From Stranraer, the four men hired a car and drove to Wigton, Cumbria, where the BNP has two offices. He admitted to following Jennifer Matthys (nee Griffin) the daughter of the BNP leader, to the petrol station in Wigton, having failed to gain access to the party's two offices at an industrial estate nearby, but denied trying to drive her off the road as the BNP claimed.

Sloan said that he and Matthys were old friends and that they had lunched weekly when both he and the BNP were capable of paying their bills. Matthys accepted she had liked him. Sloan said his family business relied upon the BNP and the £44,000 the BNP owed was approximately 10% of their gross annual turnover but their failure to pay led to the collapse of his business and the loss of seven jobs. Sloan slumped into depression, even texting Matthys to say how he did not want to "wake up in the morning", so desperate was his plight, and then "Jen I really need payed (sic) please".

Whilst the four were driving down to Cumbria Nick Griffin's father took a phone call from a man with a "thick Ulster accent" apparently demanding money. In Wigton Matthys claims that she was followed for approximately five miles by Sloan before the confrontation on the garage

HOPE not hate was initially unaware of how severe Griffin's difficulties were, but the rumour mill in the BNP and in Belfast went into overdrive about paramilitaries chasing him for money.

Things became a lot clearer when Griffin made two rather bizarre tweets on the 11 March about his respect for one of the UDA's most famous martyr's 'Brigadier' John McMichael – who founded the Ulster Defence Association's murderous Ulster Freedom Fighters (UFF) – and George Seawright, who Griffin described as a "friend". Like McMichael, Seawright was murdered by Republicans during the 1980's, having suggested that Catholics in Northern Ireland be "incinerated".

Seawright's brother David had in fact joined a rival faction in the NF when Griffin led it during the 1980's in protest at Griffin's then support for Colonel Gaddafi who at the time funded and armed the Provisional IRA.



John McMichael

forecourt which she told the court, left her "petrified". The court was also told that Matthys also received a text message some days later telling her "Well ugot (sic) away but u (sic) might not get away tonight or the next night. We know where u live and work and we're holding uresponsible (sic)."

Sloan denied making these calls or sending these text messages. He had returned to Northern Ireland again on March 2nd, however two of the men remained in Britain.

Over the next few days a series of calls from an unregistered phone were made to the Griffin family, all employees of the BNP, threatening

them with violence. Similar threats were made to Griffin's mother-in-law.

Sloan denied that he made the calls or any texts despite being the purchaser of the phone used to make the calls. Griffin had described these calls as terrifying as did Jenny Matthys. Both alleged that monies were withheld from Romac printers due to the quality of the work, which they said had cost the BNP in the region of £15,000 to correct. Sloan denied that his company were responsible for any errors with the printing.

One the sixth day of the trial, Sloan, visibly shaken and distressed, began to lash out. He claimed that there were in total seventeen businesses in Northern Ireland owed money by the BNP. He did however concur with an opinion that Nick Griffin had earlier given the court, that one person who may have sent the threatening text messages was Jim Dowson, who had introduced the BNP to Sloan's printing company, and was allegedly now owed £166,000 by the BNP.

The police had traced the calls and texts made by the unregistered phone and there was a strong suggestion that the phone had followed Sloan over both sides of the Irish sea. Sloan denied this and claimed that after

*"Well ugot away but u  
might not get away  
tonight or the next night.  
We know where u live  
and work and we're  
holding uresponsible."*





Marion Thomas, Jim Dowson's sister in law and former BNP employee

buying one particular phone in question, he had left it in the car of Jim Dowson.

Over the next few days the texts became even more threatening. In one, Griffin was told he would have to start paying the "Belfast debt" off at "11 grand every month for the next 4" otherwise [the sender would allegedly be] "back to fucking with your family". These text messages were traced to a number of different mobile phones and telephone boxes in and around Belfast and Bangor.

The paramilitary angle was made abundantly clear by the prosecution when one text message sent to Griffin read: "No point giving the 2 fingers to the shankill (sic) road u (sic) would be comeing (sic) up with a quick fix nick before someone gets hurt".

The prosecution made much of the alleged involvement of paramilitaries, describing the Shankill Road, the Loyalist heartland in West Belfast as "a notorious location with historic links to terrorism", Nick Griffin concurred and also told the court that he knew of Albert Sloan (the defendant's father) but was not aware that the two were related.

Marion Thomas, Jim Dowson's sister in law and former BNP employee, appeared for the defence hoping to talk about her alleged kidnapping by BNP officers and financial impropriety

by the party. However, she was confined, on the Judge's orders, to merely confirming that she could recall there being no problems with Sloan's work. She was followed by James Moffat, a security consultant. Moffat told the court that he knew the Sloan family and that David Sloan had no connections to paramilitaries.

When the Police Service of Northern Ireland arrested Sloan on the 29 March 2011, he was one of nine men picked up across Belfast relating to this case. It appears that there were also two connected arrests in Scotland, including the man believed to be the Ulster Volunteer Force's Scottish commander. David Sloan claimed that both the confession that he made and the apology he offered to Nick Griffin during interrogation were made under duress and because he was so concerned that his father Albert Sloan was also being held and was in extremely poor health.

Sloan was eventually convicted of making a threatening call to Griffin's elderly parents and sending a threatening text message to Jennifer Matthys and will be sentenced on 13 July. He was acquitted on five other charges.

This case might now be over but the fallout from the BNP's financial troubles will continue for some time yet.

## A victim of BNP debt

### Nick Lowles

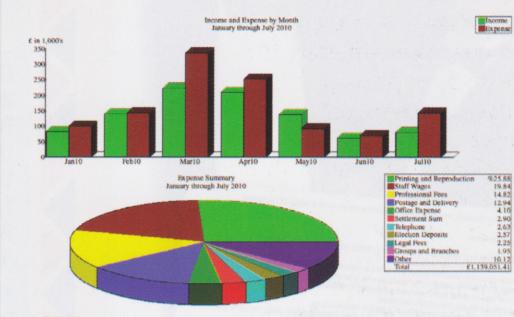
THE BRITISH NATIONAL PARTY (BNP) claimed that Romac Press's invoices were not paid because the printed work was faulty, a point angrily refuted by David Sloan. It appears that the real reason the debt was not paid owed more to do the BNP's financial problems.

On 22 July the party's Advisory Council, meeting at the Leicester Stage Hotel, was given a financial report by BNP Treasurer David Hannam. He boasted that the party "came out of the elections in the black" and boasted of record BNP fundraising and membership.

However, he went on to say that any optimism about the state of their finances were "vastly misleading because most of our current liabilities are aged creditors, therefore although in terms of election costs we were relatively healthy, we have lost overview and control of our aged creditors."

He was not wrong.

Despite the meeting being told that Midas Consultancy, the Belfast-based company run by Jim Dowson, had raised £2,362,000 for the party since 2007, expenditure continued to outstrip income and the costs of legal battles was crippling the party.



In the first six months of 2010 the party's expenditure was £205,027.19 more than its expenditure.

Hannam's slideshow to the Advisory Council ended with a list of outstanding creditors, who together were owed £575,330.90. Interestingly, this list of liabilities included Romac Press, who were owed £50,575.38.

Clive Jefferson, now the party treasurer, suggested to the meeting that the BNP simply refuse to pay the debts, though eventually it was agreed that creditors be offered 20p in the pound.

Romac Press refused this offer and pushed for the full amount. The BNP refused to pay by claiming that the printing was unsatisfactory and so began David Sloan's decision to get the money back in his own way.

Some other creditors simply wrote off the debt, some are still being repaid and others are continuing legal action to recover their money. One of these is the Royal Mail, which is currently undertaking legal action at Central London County Court to recover somewhere in the region of £50,000.

While no-one can condone Sloan's actions his was one of the several businesses which paid the price for working for the BNP.

# A relationship that ended in tears

In 2007 the British National Party began outsourcing its fundraising and administrative to a Belfast company. It began as a perfect marriage, with over £2 million raised within three years but it was not to last and eventually it all ended in tears.

*Matthew Collins reports*



Midas Consultancy: Jim Dowson, senior consultant, gave a report on the Midas Consultancy.

The main points outlined were:

- Overview of the funding operation; the growth in funds raised speaks for itself.
- Annual Year-Income and Turnover detailed.
- Midas: how much does it cost the party? £165,000 in consultancy fees since 2007.
- Midas has raised £362,000, which (after costs) leaves a gross profit of £2,197,000
- Midas' turnover of non-renewal rates has increased from 10% to 20% through establishment of new administrative structures; eg call centre operation.
- Funds generated by Midas in building the party's infrastructure
- Party has a highly developed database (worth between £50/100,000) which gives the party the very best information gathering and analysis/door analysis/technology.
- Specialist low-cost recruitment training programmes rolled out to BNP officials.
- Bespoke software introduced for purchasing, expense, temporary budgets and staff costs.
- Midas cost savings achieved: £93,000 in consultancy fees (Identify/relection leases), £60,000 (reduction in monthly outgoing costs - telephone, postage, etc).
- Party now has a highly developed and fully staffed offices and one distribution centre (including a full finance, storage and accounts office).
- Party has a substantial and stable fundraising income, rapidly growing membership, and in the last 11 months has fought two of the largest national election campaigns in its history, while remaining relatively debt free.



42

September 2010: Furious infighting in the BNP. Jenny Matthys leaves Belfast under a cloud.

43

October 2010: Dowson and Griffin "part ways". BNP call centre staff not paid and most will never be again, despite working through to December.

44

November 2010: Griffin allies hold Dowson's sister-in-law "hostage" in Belfast and take large amount of cash away.

41

August 2010: BNP writes to creditors offering them 20p of every pound they are owed. Party accused of trying to frame Richard Barnbrook former member over electoral debts.

40

July 2010: BNP debts are estimated to be £600,000. Griffin claims Belfast call centre made £250,000 but appoints "scrutiny committee" to oversee accounts department.

39

June 2010: Newspaper reveals BNP paying employment agencies for staff and employing their own families in Belfast.

28

October 2009: BNP membership leaked by disgruntled Dowson employee.

29

December 2009: The British National Party's former treasurer faces criminal proceedings for delivering "inadequate accounts" to the Electoral Commission.

30

December 2009: BNP end the last quarter of the year with £800,000 passing through the call centre.

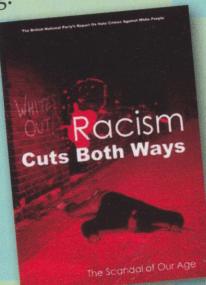
27

October 2009: BNP reveal they paid for a stolen UKIP membership list. Dowson sends them BNP mailing.



14

November 2008: BNP launches "Racism Cuts Both Ways" campaign.



15

November 2008: BNP 'Truth Truck' goes on a four day tour to try and sell its benefits to the membership. It fails.

16

November 2008: BNP evicted from secret offices in Flintshire, Wales.

13

August 2008: Another split develops in the BNP, this one cites concern of the growing influence of Dowson.

12

August 2008: Dowson exposed in the Irish press as the man now helping the BNP.

11

July 2008: Vicious anti-Griffin blog developed by BNP officials begins attacking the party, Griffin and Dowson.

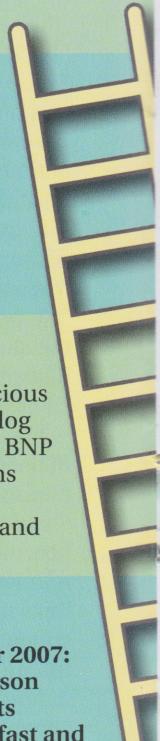
1

February 2007: Dowson makes contact with BNP's Scottish Organiser.

2

October 2007: Dowson meets Griffin in Belfast and convinces him to use his services.

START



<p><b>45</b>  <b>January 2011:</b> Dowson launches "Britain First" a "commercial rival" to the BNP.</p>	<p><b>46</b>  <b>July 2011:</b> Dowson sends out anti-Griffin mailing to BNP members.</p>	<p><b>47</b>  <b>October 2011:</b> Dowson appears on BBC Panorama which highlights financial mismanagement within the party.</p>	<p><b>END</b></p>
<p><b>38</b>  <b>May 2010:</b> BNP hammered in elections. Party splits. Griffin and Dowson defend Belfast operation at BNP Advisory Council. Dowson revealed to have earned £162,000 from BNP.</p>	<p><b>37</b>  <b>April 2010:</b> Dowson clashes with BNP webmaster Simon Bennett over commissions paid to call centre. BNP website pulled days before election.</p>	<p><b>36</b>  <b>April 2010:</b> Electoral commission upgrades its review of BNP accounts to "formal".</p>	 <p><b>35</b>  <b>March 2010:</b> Romac Press print 14 million leaflets for the BNP.</p>
<p><b>31</b>  <b>January 2010:</b> BNP admits it "exaggerated" how much it spent on the 2009 election campaign.</p>	<p><b>32</b>  <b>February 2010:</b> Electoral Commission launches "review" into BNP accounts as rumours of financial problems spread.</p>	<p><b>33</b>  <b>March 2010:</b> Marmite threaten legal action over BNP political broadcast. BNP pays £40,000.</p>	 <p><b>34</b>  <b>March 2010:</b> BNP suspended Mark Collett after his bugged phone-call reveals plot to "kill" Griffin and Dowson.</p>
<p><b>24</b>  <b>June 2009:</b> Griffin and Andrew Brons elected to Europe. "Wild" celebration party at Belfast call centre shows deep divisions between staff and Jenny Griffin.</p>	<p><b>23</b>  <b>June 2009:</b> Dowson "exposed" for links to Loyalist killer Michael Stone.</p>	<p><b>22</b>  <b>March 2009:</b> BNP call centre/administration centre, now up and running. Cold calling of BNP members begin.</p>	 <p><b>21</b>  <b>March 2009:</b> Dowson instructs BNP members with "skinheads" to cover up when out leafleting or canvassing.</p>
<p><b>17</b>  <b>December 2008:</b> Griffin agrees to outsource the party into the hands of Dowson's shadowy companies.</p>	<p><b>18</b>  <b>February 2009:</b> Jenny Griffin moves to Belfast and joins a staff of eight already working on Dowson's other "projects".</p>	<p><b>19</b>  <b>Feb/March 2009:</b> Dowson/BNP sends out letter demanding £85,000 for a rapid expansion plan for the forthcoming elections.</p>	<p><b>20</b>  <b>March 2009:</b> BNP begs for more money to fund "central administrative unit" in time for the European elections. One of six begging letters already this year.</p>
<p><b>10</b>  <b>July 2008:</b> BNP launch a fighting fund to raise £30,000 to buy the "Truth Truck" for the BNP, from Dowson's Ad Lorries.</p>	<p><b>9</b>  <b>July 2008:</b> Dowson's "Midas Touch" consultancy paid £6,900 for training.</p>	<p><b>8</b>  <b>July 2008:</b> Dowson encourages BNP security staff to begin "listening in" on suspected "fifth columnists".</p>	 <p><b>7</b>  <b>June 2008:</b> The BNP Truth Truck makes its first appearance in Britain, courtesy of Dowson's Ad Lorries company.</p>
<p><b>3</b>  <b>November 2007:</b> Dowson mails out "Building to Grow" begging letter as a "tester" for the BNP.</p>	<p><b>4</b>  <b>January 2008:</b> Dowson follows up December's begging letter. BNP net £136,000 in total. Griffin hooked.</p>	<p><b>5</b>  <b>February-April 2008:</b> 36 BNP officials flown to Dowson's property in Spain for 'training'. Dowson wines and dines the top brass. Total cost to the BNP in the region of £20,000.</p>	 <p><b>6</b>  <b>May 2008:</b> Dowson writes confidential report slamming "poor quality" of staff and suggests the BNP move its operation to his office in Belfast.</p>

# Britain Tastes

As the eyes of the world look to Britain as we host the Olympics, HOPE not hate is teaming up with the *Daily Mirror* to celebrate the nation we are. And what better way to celebrate it than through food. By Nick Lowles



The quintessential British dish actually came together by combining fried fish, brought here by Jewish refugees fleeing persecution in Spain and Portugal, with chips, which came to Britain from France and Belgium.

Photo: Andrew Dunn, <http://www.andrewdunnphoto.com/>

# Great



*“Tell me what you eat, and I’ll tell you who you are”*

Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin

BRILLAT-SAVARIN'S insightful remark is as true now as it was when he made it in 1825. What we eat, how we prepare our food and finally how we consume and share it says a lot about who we are and where we are from. Britain might be a small island country but the richness and diversity of its food reflects its multicultural society.

Food encompasses everything that is important to people. It marks social differences but it can also strengthen social bonds.

The modern British cuisine is a hybrid of the nation we are. It has been a process that has been shaped by over two thousand years of invasions, exploration, empire, immigration and globalisation.

The Romans brought us cherries, cabbages and peas. They brought us apples and they introduced us to wine. With the development of roads during Roman Britain suddenly food could be moved around much more easily than before.

The Vikings and Danes brought with them techniques for smoking and drying fish. Even today, some of the best places to find kippers and other smoked fish remain in those parts of northern England and Scotland populated by the Scandinavians 900 years ago.

A dish of Collops is often served on Burns Night – which celebrates the Scottish poet Robert Burns – but the word is actually Scandinavian for slices of meat.

The Normans, who invaded Britain in 11<sup>th</sup> century, brought with them words we now view as our own – such as *beouf* (beef) and *mouton* (mutton).

But it was not long before the people of these islands began their own adventures abroad and this introduced them to a whole variety of new dishes and tastes, many of which they brought back on their return.

During the Middle Ages trade really began to develop and saffron was introduced into Cornwall in exchange for tin. Spices began to arrive from the Far East, though these were confined to the kitchens of the rich.

It was during the Tudor period, in the late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries that increased trade meant that the peoples of Britain were introduced to an even greater variety of foods. Spices from the Far East, sugar from the Caribbean and coffee and cocoa from South America. One of the most important food items to be introduced into Britain was the potato, which originated in America.

Of course, all this was at a price. Slavery and colonisation secured much of the foodstuff and land on which it was grown for the benefit of British people. Giles Milton's book, *Nathenial's Nutmeg*, charts the fascinating battle between Britain and the Netherlands for this most prized commodity. A commodity which Milton argues was the reason for the rise of New York City.

As Empire expanded our range of food so did the arrival of new immigrants into Britain. Few were more influence to the development of our national cuisine than Jewish refugees fleeing Spain and Portugal in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They introduced the process of frying fish. When this was coupled with fried potatoes – which had originated in France and Belgium – by Jewish street traders on the streets of London's East End the now classic British dish was created.

While increased wealth, through both Empire and trade, brought most new food to our shores, so did poverty and scarcity. Carrots had been used as a sweetener in food since medieval days while carrot cake, which probably originated in Norway, became

common again in Britain during World War Two because of rationing and the scarcity of sugar.

## Immigration

Large scale immigration into Britain began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Irish and Jewish people who brought with them their own history, culture and food. It was with the Jewish community, and the link between food and religious identity, that Brillat-Savarin's quote seems most pertinent. And with their need for specific food and its particular preparation so Jewish food stores began to emerge in the communities in which they lived.

Policing the preparation of Jewish food led to the creation of several overarching bodies representing Jewish people in Britain and indeed it could be argued that these gave rise to the development of a single more cohesive Jewish community. One such body was the Schechita Board, which was first formed in London in 1804 with the responsibility for “organising and supervising the supply of kosher meat to the Jewish public.”

By the 1920s Schechita Board acted as a supervisory role to the four major Anglo-Jewish groups in Britain, the United Synagogue, the Federation of Synagogues, the Spanish and Portuguese congregation and the Western Synagogue. By 1927, the Chief Rabbi described the board as “an essential religious institution of Orthodox Jewry in every large community.”

## Changing Britain

British food has changed most dramatically in the post-war period, largely through immigration but also because of increased wealth and globalisation.

# The Curry King who loves Britain

By Nick Lowles

JOKINGLY NICKNAMED the "Curry King", Lord Gulam Noon has been one of the most important influencers of the development of British food in the last 20 years. He is the man who popularised Indian ready meals in our supermarkets and also the man who created Chicken Tikka Masala, now Britain's favourite restaurant dish.

"The real name of the dish is Chicken Makhanwala, butter chicken," he told *HOPE not hate*, "but I thought it was too much of a mouthful for the British so I simplified it by renaming it Chicken Tikka Masala."

It was a name, and a dish, that was to catch on and now it is the UK's favourite restaurant meal.

Of course Lord Noon is much more than Chicken Tikka Masala. Born in 1937 of an Indian father and an Iranian mother, he moved to England in the 1960s when he was already involved in the family business, Royal Sweets. "These sweets were exclusively sold in Indian shops" he adds. "To be honest I never thought that they would end up on the supermarket shelves."

In 1988 he established Noon Foods with a staff of just 11 people and began producing frozen Indian ready meals. His family and friends suggested that he hire a few vans to distribute the meals to local shops but Lord Noon had other ideas. He eventually got a meeting with Birds Eye and walked away with a £2m order.

Noon Foods went on to make up



to two million curries a week and counted amongst its customers Sainsbury's, Waitrose and Morrisons. Through this Lord Noon helped bring Indian food into the heart of the British cuisine.

And so with it has British food changed. "The British have traditionally had a bland palate and they couldn't take the heat of a traditional curry so we had to make it milder. Our aim was spicy but not chilly spicy," Lord Noon says.

But just as immigration has changed the eating habits of British people so living here has changed the diet of our newer communities. "The younger generation of Indians in this country don't just want to eat Indian food

anymore. They want to eat a bit of everything like everyone else," He adds.

He admits that even his own eating habits has changed. "My palate has become subdued," he says with a laugh. "I don't really like the really spicy Indian food anymore."

When pressed on his Taste of Home, Lord Noon reels off a list of his favourite meals. For British food he says it has to be Roast Lamb, which he has in his local pub on Sunday lunchtime as often as he can. For Italian food he lists Spaghetti Bolognese, but he is just as happy with kleftiko from his favourite Greek restaurant in Bayswater.

Lamb is obviously a common denominator in Lord Noon's food. When I ask him to name his favourite Indian food he says lamb bhuna and lamb biryani.

In addition to understanding the food business, Lord Noon recognises the role food can play in bringing people together. "It is like a language but one

that everyone can understand. Learning a language might be difficult for some people but food can be tasted and enjoyed by everyone at the same time.

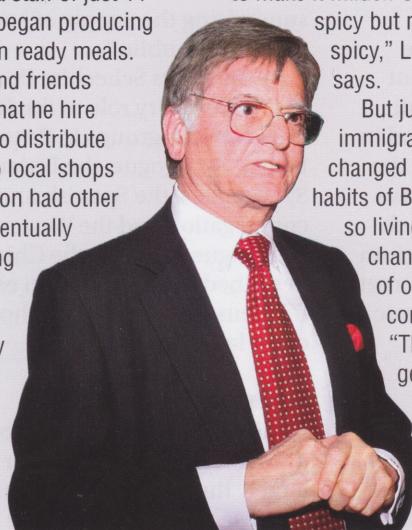
"Food has a unique ability to bind friendship," he adds.

Over the years Lord Noon has given a lot back to society. He has supported hospitals and charities both here and in India and has also been heavily involved in projects to counter extremism.

He is a passionate cricket fan and still plays for the company team. But when it comes to international cricket he is an England fan all the way even if they are playing India.

"This is my country," he says proudly. "I'm a British-Indian, British-Muslim. I'm proud to be a Muslim and I'm proud of my Indian roots. But I'm also loyal to my country."

"When I'm in an aeroplane and it approaches Heathrow I look down and smile because I know I'm home. This is the best country in the world."



Like other immigrants before them, people from South East Asia brought their own food, tastes and cooking styles with them. To cater for this, shops opened and a food import system was created. Initially this catered for simply the people who had a direct link with their homeland but it was not long before the more settled community began to also be catered for.

The first curry house in Britain was opened in London in 1809, though this largely catered for wealthy people who had tasted spicy food during British rule in India. Other than that what few curry shops existed during the rest of the 19<sup>th</sup> century served the small but growing Indian community in London.

By the early twentieth century more Indian restaurants began to open, with some serving the British upper middle class while others catered for seamen who were beginning to settle down here.

Similar developments were occurring within the Chinese community, which had begun to form in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century following China's defeat in the Opium Wars. Seaman jumped ship and began to settle in cities with large ports, such as Liverpool, Cardiff and east London.

Liverpool's Chinatown emerged at the very end of the nineteenth century, as shipping companies bought up buildings in a confined area of the city centre to house its seamen in between journeys. Shops and cafes began to spring up to serve the transient population.

By 1913 there were 30 shops and cafes catering for the Chinese community in East London alone. By the early 1950s the Chinese community in London shifted its location from East London's Limehouse into Soho, and in particular the area known simply as 'Chinatown'.

Growing immigrant communities, widening British tastes and increasing wealth was all accompanied by a burgeoning restaurant and food industry. In 1960 there were just 500 Indian restaurants in the UK. By 1970 this had risen to 1,200 and by 1990 to 5,100. Today, the figure stands at approximately 10,000.

Likewise Chinese food outlets have seen a similar increase. Today, there are over 7,600 restaurants and takeaways, with a combined annual turnover of almost £2bn.

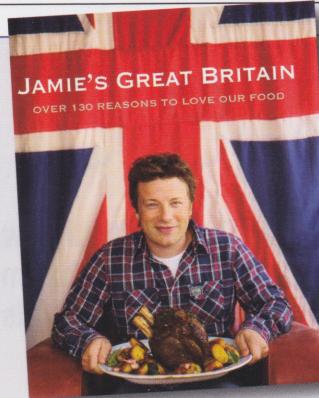
### Multiculturalisation of British food

"Migration has had a profound impact on Britain since the Victorian period as millions of people have entered the country," says Panikos Panayi, in his excellent book *Spicing Up Britain*. "They played a significant role in economic growth, as well as in the evolution of

## Great Britain

"It's good to be loyal and patriotic about your country, but sometimes if you cling on too tightly to any kind of patriotism, you can miss out on the incredible things that are happening on the periphery."

"As I wrote this book, I found I was constantly debating with myself exactly what the term 'British Food' means. Walk down any high street and it's clear to see that our food embraces much more than a handful of old recipes. Our history has been one of invasion, exploration, colonisation and immigration, and the evidence of that is everywhere: on our plates, in our supermarkets and in our cupboards. Some of



the things we now think of as quintessentially British actually arrived long ago with immigrants carving out new lives here.

*"So in this book you'll find dishes inspired by some of our immigrant communities, old and new, sandwiched between recipes from my childhood, my parents' childhood, even my Nan's childhood and beyond. And to me that's what Britain today is: a tapestry and patchwork quilt that embraces the best of the old traditions as well as the newer additions to our repertoire, which are joyful, colourful and resourceful in their own right."*

Jamie Oliver, in the introduction to his most recent book, *Great Britain*.

aspects of high, and more especially, popular culture, especially since 1945. They have multiculturalized Britain. Food represents perhaps the most obvious way in which this has occurred."

Much of what is considered Indian or Chinese food bears little resemblance to what is eaten in India and China. It has been developed for duller British taste buds, incorporates ingredients that are uncommon back home and, especially in the case of Indian food, has a greater emphasis on meat. And just as much of this food should now really be considered British-Indian or British Chinese, so many of the more popular dishes have become major components of modern British cuisine.

The influence of migrants on Britain however goes beyond just what we eat but also how we eat and the development of the catering trade more widely. Migrants have obviously established restaurants serving food from their homelands but they have also played a central role in the development of eating out and takeaway food. Post-war immigration from countries like Italy saw the emergence of coffee shops and cafes and more recent immigrants, particularly from Greece and Cyprus, have played a significant role in keeping fish and chip shops going.

The importation and growth of ethnic food in Britain also played a significant role in the development of the food business more generally. The emergence of supermarkets, ready meals and globalisation has quickened the pace of our changing diet.

Conversely, just as immigration has transformed British food, so their own food has undergone change. "Their meals also become multiculturalized,"

says Panayi. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the newly arrived British Jewish community had quite a different diet to that of the settled community. Today, it is largely the same, albeit with certain offending foods absent and others prepared in a different way.

Likewise, the second and third generation of British Asians will eat a quite different diet to that of the first generation. While curries might still form a major part of their food so will other, more traditionally British food. Go into any food store which caters for the British Asian communities and you will discover traditional foods sitting alongside tins of baked beans and packets of cereal.

The process of change, assimilation and incorporation is constantly evolving, but now at a much faster pace. Ever since the first foreign boat landed on British shores our food has been constantly changing. The food we eat reflects the society we are and the people who live within it. Even those who appear hostile to immigration and change have been positively affected by it.

As some on the political right celebrate the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Enoch Powell's birth last month we can simply say he was wrong in his notorious forecast that immigration would lead to 'Rivers of Blood' in Britain. While of course there are problems within modern Britain, and some community and religious tensions run deep, there has also been real and evolving progressive change in our society which often goes unnoticed and taken for granted.

If Brillat-Savarin was around today he would answer his own question by saying that our food reflected the modern multicultural nation we are. That should be cause in itself for celebration.

# A Taste of Home



As part of the Britain Tastes Great initiative we are asking people to tell us about their taste of home – the dish that means something special to them and why. These are just some of the dishes selected by well-known chefs and celebrities

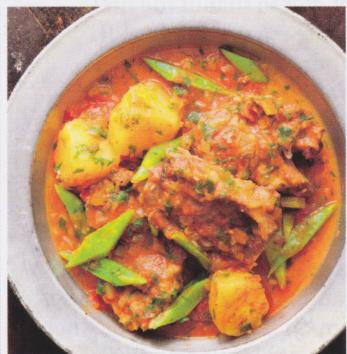
## Nadia Sawalha MUSSAKHAN



"My passion for all things foodie began when I was a little girl. I was brought up in an Anglo Arab home and our family mantra was 'good food cooked with love feeds the soul as well as the body'."

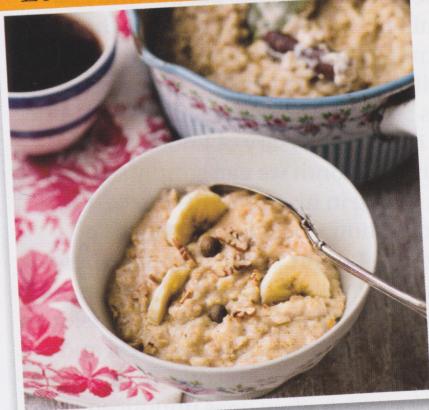
"When friends came round I always used to get my mum to make my favorite Arabic sharing dish served on a huge platter when I wanted to really show off my heritage to its full extent. The first was Mussakhan; actually a favourite dish for my entire family, that my parents discovered on holiday in Palestine before they got married, and is still a heavenly dish that I now make for my family and has in fact become my daughter's favourite too."

## Maria Elia BRAISED SCRAG END OF LAMB WITH RUNNER BEANS AND TOMATOES



"This is a dish my mum used to make quite frequently. It's a delicious way to prepare lamb, inspired by my dad's Greek Cypriot way of braising meat in a rich, tomatoey sauce. The lamb is full of flavour and is melt-in-the-mouth tender, the potatoes soak up all the wonderful cooking juices. I love this dish, it takes me right back to my childhood."

## Levi Roots PORRIDGE



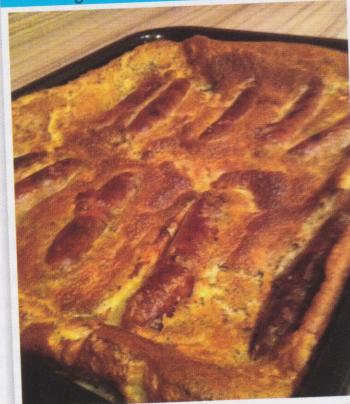
"This was the national breakfast for Jamaican kids – me included. It fills everyone up and takes you through the morning."

## Simon Rimmer LASAGNE



"My Mum is a fantastic cook and this is the best recipe for lasagne EVER! No béchamel, my mum uses cottage cheese and it is gorgeous. My Dad's Mum's family is Italian so my mum thought it would be a great idea to learn to cook this recipe to impress my dad and her mother-in-law – plus she's added her own special twist which makes it extra special."

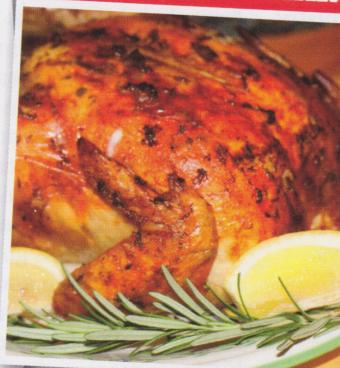
## Tony Parsons TOAD-IN-THE-HOLE



"Toad-in-the-Hole is the ultimate comfort food. The smell of sausages mingling with batter reminds of a Sixties childhood, the home I grew up in, and a mother who knew how to cook."

"The writer Marcel Proust took one bite of a Madeleine cake and his entire past came flooding back. We never had Madeleines in Billericay. We had Toad-in-the-Hole."

## Silvia Nacamulli ROAST CHICKEN WITH LEMON, ROSEMARY AND GARLIC



"My favourite Anglo Jewish recipe is the classic and delicious Friday night roast chicken. As I come from Rome, we never had Friday night chicken soup or roast chicken for Shabbat, or in fact a set menu. However, since living in London, I discovered the 'Friday night chicken tradition' in Anglo Jewry, similar to the one in Israel."

For all these recipes and plenty more, please visit:  
[www.britaintastsgreat.co.uk](http://www.britaintastsgreat.co.uk)

# The help you could do without

By Steve DIY

A HELP 4 HEROES benefit gig that took place on a Saturday night at the beginning of June was tainted with fascism. The venue was Riffs Bar in Greatfield, Swindon. Appearing on the bill were a number of Oi! punk bands including The 4-Skins, who played to the 100 strong audience.

What was advertised as a non-political event turned out to be something very different to what was claimed in the publicity. Mic Bright, the organiser, used the nazi outfit Blood & Honour as security. This included well known nazis Del O'Connor (Combat 18), Ken McLellan (Brutal Attack) and "Ginger Rob". There were also a few Millwall nazis.

Help 4 Heroes is a fundraising charity which gives donations to organisations that help British soldiers and their families. No doubt the avowedly non-political charity will be horrified at the revelations that people who support Nazism – an ideology that cost many British fighters lives – have latched onto their organisation. Certainly, some of the audience and bands were appalled when they realised that Blood & Honour were involved with the event.

However the bands that did know who was doing the security and turned a blind eye to it included the 4-Skins, Vicious Rumours and headliners, The Crack. In fact Mic Bright, who manages the Crack, went on stage and thanked Blood & Honour for doing the security.

The Blood & Honour scene is on the decline in Britain which is why its

organisers have tried to find new avenues for its events. Unfortunately the Help 4 Heroes benefit isn't the only show to have fascists in attendance. The past 18 months has seen an increase in Blood & Honour bands and individuals sneak into the non-political skinhead scene.

Gary Hodges, lead singer of the 4 Skins band in its heyday in the early 1980s never had his heart in reforming the band and told people close to him that he was only doing it to make money. At the start he was picking up big pay packets from Rebellion, Punk & Disorderly and US East Coast fest (up to £15,000 a show) but that strategy exhausted itself. He



[www.helpforheroes.org.uk](http://www.helpforheroes.org.uk)

then started writing songs about Muslims, causing a rift in the Oi! music scene which saw him shut him out by those who did not want anything to do with racism. Since then he has surrounded himself with far right sympathisers and seems to want to take the whole scene down with him.

Hodges isn't the only one. Bands such as Close Shave, Code 1, Pressure 28, Street Punk Drunks and TMF are regularly playing apolitical events despite their past ties with the far-right.

Another key figure is Steve Jones (English Rose / TMF / Hammerskins) who claims to be non-political but remains a fascist. He has set up a record company (MFS) and is signing up so called apolitical bands. Mr Jones is also buying the rights to albums to try and build his music empire.

The UK punk rock scene has always considered itself anti-fascist and anti-racist but there's an exception to every rule. Many of us are fighting back by getting venues to close their doors for these events and in doing so have received death threats and threats of violence from the far-right. ●



# ANT-MUSLIM VICTIM PICTURE ACROSS THE UK

**140**  
cases recorded so far



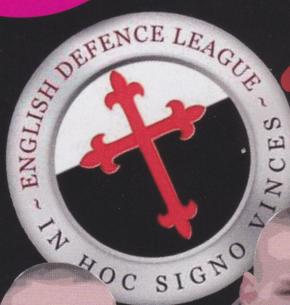
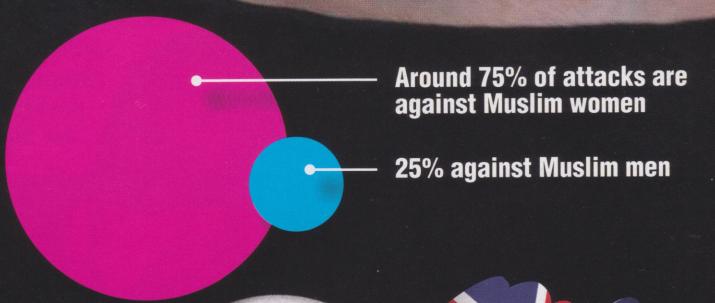
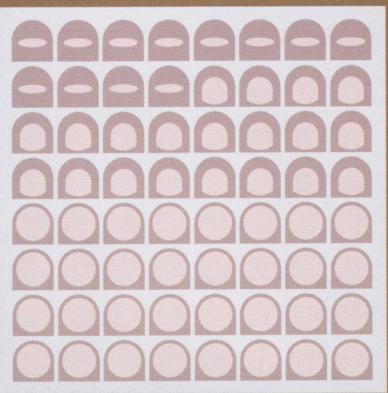
Majority of attacks take place between  
**3-9pm**



Between  
**70-80%**  
involve Muslim women as victims

There are **32** counts of women with a Hijab of those, **12** wear the Niqab.

If we relate that to less than 1% of women in England who wear the Niqab, there is a massive disproportionality in the women being attacked who wear the Niqab.



There  
**48** cases  
with an EDL  
which me  
**33**  
of all reports  
have a far

# ANTI-MUSLIM HATRED



**10%**  
of incidents occur  
against a mosque



are  
ases  
or BNP link,  
means that  
0%  
t incidents  
right link

Majority of offenders  
are white males  
**20-50**  
though there are  
also cases of  
African and African  
Caribbean individuals  
who have been involved  
in anti-Muslim prejudice.

## MAMA main findings

- Muslim women target of increasing harassment
- Majority of attacks by white males
- Victims up to 89-years-old
- BNP/EDL involved in 33% of cases (3 arrested)
- Baroness Warsi threatened by EDL member



THE MAJORITY of Muslims being physically attacked, harassed or intimidated are women, according to interim results from a Government-backed anti-Muslim violence helpline.

Victims have included children as well as pensioners in their 80s. High profile figures such as Baroness Warsi, the co-chairman of the Conservative Party, has been subject to online threats highlighted by the TELL MAMA campaign.

TELL MAMA, which was set up in February by interfaith organisation Faith Matters, has chronicled over 140 cases to date and led to the arrests of three EDL members.

Fiyaz Mugal, director of Faith Matters, said: "The majority of the people attacked are Muslim women, wearing either the Hijab (covering their head out of religious beliefs) or the Niqab (full face covering). In one case, a Somali woman had dog faeces placed on her head by a young white male, which was only noticed after she entered a local shop. In another, a Muslim woman and her family have been repeatedly harassed by white neighbours, leading to serious assault."

Many of the incidents seem to be carried out by white men in their 20s to 50s, specifically targeting Muslim women. Yet when challenged, said Mugal, these men tended to justify

their actions by claiming that these women were "oppressed, ignorant and abused."

"Such vile attacks leave their victims feeling vulnerable and with a lasting sense of fear," he said.

### CLUSTERS

There have been clusters of attacks in London, the West Midlands, Greater Manchester and Luton. This may be due to higher concentration of Muslims in those areas – the picture will become clearer as the project progresses.

### EDL

One third (33%) are linked to BNP or EDL, with the majority (1 in 4 or 25%) being EDL linked.

One member threatened Baroness Warsi via his Facebook account and was subsequently reported to police by TELL MAMA. Others have vocalised support for the EDL during an incident. Three EDL supporters have been arrested so far.

Several other incidents (just over 10%) have included attacks on mosque buildings. Some attackers have even posted pictures of these attacks on social media.

A further quarter of cases involved dissemination of anti-Muslim literature. There have also been hate calls recorded to the line itself.

### REPORTING

TELL MAMA uses innovative 'crowdmapping' software to compile results of attacks – whether physical, verbal, written or online – on a special database, which is then distributed directly to police forces across the UK.

### SUPPORT

You can support TELL MAMA and learn more about its work at:

**TELL MAMA** [www.tellmamauk.org](http://www.tellmamauk.org) or  
**Faith Matters** [www.faith-matters.org](http://www.faith-matters.org)  
Twitter: @FaithMattersUK



**The dispute between the Infidels and EDL leader Stephen Lennon boiled over last month as the splinter group the Infidels issued a leaflet likening Lennon to a Muslim paedophile. Matthew Collins reports**

They were never the greatest of friends. Stephen Lennon was a flash 'mockney' with a nice car and home, business interests and glamorous wife. John 'Snowy' Shaw was a crack-addicted Llama farmer from Yorkshire who had no money and an apparent permanent cold. But they agreed on one thing; Islam had to be stopped.

Shaw was popular for being unpretentious if a little needy, but he did show a willingness to perform stunts. It was as far as Lennon wanted to take it; a large football firm, a few stunts with riotous behaviour thrown in. Lennon had several shady business interests and living in Luton, the supposed frontline of Islamist extremism, he was up for much but there was a limit.

In May 2010 Shaw took to a rooftop in Dudley, West Midlands for a protest against a proposed 'super mosque' being built in the town. Lennon was among those who sung his praises. But as far as Lennon was concerned, Shaw was just another EDL steward.

After Dudley, things would never be the same for Shaw again. He wanted more. In the short few months he was in the EDL's inner circle he had witnessed the large amounts of cash swallowed up from the group's merchandising, and he thought he was equal to the southern 'Luton Mafia' and wanted a slice of their action.

After a hero's welcome at the EDL's disastrous Bradford rally in August 2010, Shaw called together his supporters, drawn mainly

from the north of England divisions, to ferment the seeds of discontent. He then backtracked and issued an apology when word got back to Lennon.

Uninterested in Shaw's apology, Lennon struck back with a YouTube video accusing and ridiculing Shaw and some of his supporters for their antics and expelling them from the organisation.

Shaw had sizeable support in the Northwest, the Northeast and Yorkshire but little infrastructure other than Facebook. Using the name 'Infidels' he began organising independently.

In April 2011 Shaw revealed his hand. After months of threats, his supporters traded violent blows with the EDL at a rally in Blackburn. Lennon's cousin Kevin Carroll

even went as far as to claim Sunderland's 'Infidels' had tried to murder them both.

In June 2011 Shaw launched into an antisemitic tirade online after claiming to have read the notorious forgery *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Shaw had moved his gang to the extreme right and aligned itself with anti-EDL groups like Combat 18 and the National Front. He followed it up with endless attacks on the Infidel's perceived weaknesses; Lennon's Irish ancestry, Carroll's black step daughter and the EDL's supposed 'anti-racism'.

This caused uproar within the 'Counter-Jihad' world, with Roberta Moore, the then leader of the Jewish Defence League, trading verbal expletives with Shaw



on the Internet. Pamela Geller publicly – albeit temporarily – broke off all support for the EDL.

Lennon fought back, condemning nazi influences within the EDL whilst stepping up his violent rhetoric against Muslims.

The trouble has rumbled on, with the dispute particularly venomous in the North East. The Infidels increasingly began linking with the NF and BNP and holding its own events in the North West.

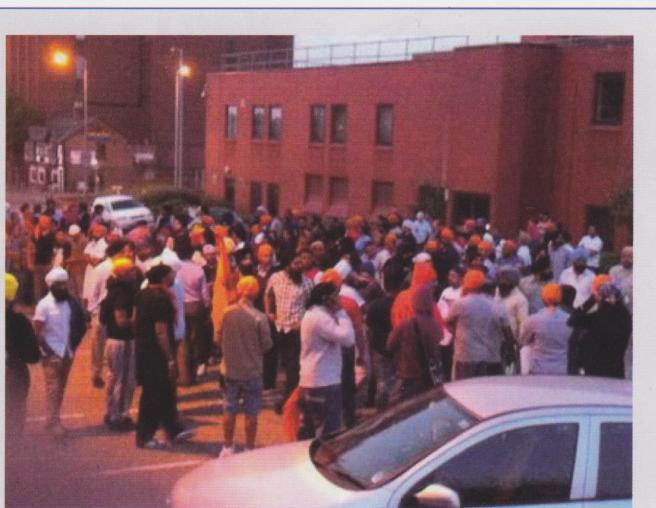
Things turned violent and Shaw was attacked in his own home.

Then in May, in an act that has surely put pay to any prospect of reconciliation between the two groups, Shaw's supporters distributed a flyer ahead of an EDL demo

in Rochdale comparing the actions of Lennon on twitter – where he remarked on the beauty of a 15-year-old Muslim girl – to those of Muslim paedophiles. It was a perfect gift to the gallery and an infuriating slight against the EDL leader.

Lennon threatened to travel up to Blackpool where the Infidels were campaigning out with the BNP. Insults and threats of violence flew across the Internet.

This phoney war will come to a head soon and when it does it is likely to be violent and nasty. That is just the sort of people these are. Two men from very different backgrounds who now totally hate each other yet strangely they are drawn together by a common hatred of Islam and a life of violence.



## Sikh leadership reject EDL advances

By Nick Lowles

THE LEADERS of the English Defence League (EDL) claim to be in discussions with followers of a Sikh organisation which purports to protect Sikh children from grooming by Muslim men. Representatives of the two groups met in Luton a few days after EDL leaders attended a Sikh demonstration against perceived police inaction over an alleged sexual assault of a young Sikh woman by a Muslim in the town.

Between 10 and 20 EDL supporters, including leaders Stephen Lennon and Kevin Carroll, were part of a 200-strong protest taking place at a Gurdwara, just 500 metres from the local police station.

It is clear that Carroll and Lennon had been invited by someone in the Sikh community and used the rally as an opportunity to mingle with other Sikhs. However, it was equally apparent that as soon as their presence was made known to the protest organisers, they were asked to leave.

It has since been reported, by the *Mail on Sunday*, that a few days after this protest "Sikhs and EDL members held a secret meeting in Luton to discuss a joint response to the problem. Both sides are said to have favoured acts of vigilantism."

Lennon told the newspaper: "Who told you about that? We can't comment on exactly what we will do with the Sikhs but we will do whatever we can to work together, raise awareness and combat the problem."

It would appear that the Sikhs who met the EDL belonged to the Sikh Awareness Society, an organisation which seeks to address "growing concerns of the 'grooming' of our youth."

The *Mail on Sunday* noted that there were people from the West Midlands, Luton and other parts of the country at the meeting.

The Sikh Awareness Society was quick to distance themselves from the EDL. "We would have nothing to do with any racist or fascist group, certainly one that uses religion to divide people," Kalwant Singh told HOPE not hate. "I know nothing about this and no, we are not in any kind of talks and discussion with them".

The leadership of the Sikh community in Luton has been quick to warn their followers against supporting the EDL. As have the Sikh Council UK, who, a couple of months ago, circulated a press release stating: "We request that the Sikh community remain vigil of far right organisations which may take advantage of this type of situation to heighten tensions between communities."



## HOPE not hate secure EDL conviction

By Sam King

THIS IS THE MOMENT Steven Crispin, a 23-year old EDL member, fractured the jaw of a Muslim man during an unpoliced English Defence League (EDL) march in Dagenham last year.

Two brothers, Mohammed and Aftab, were walking near their house in Dagenham when a group of EDL thugs, on an EDL march, attacked them. The two brothers had been unaware that they were walking towards an EDL march.

Snaresbrook Crown Court heard in July how the two brothers were punched and kicked to the ground and how passers by tried to intervene and help them.

We are proud to say that the passers by were HOPE not hate staff who had been photographing the EDL march and were recovering from being attacked themselves only moments before.

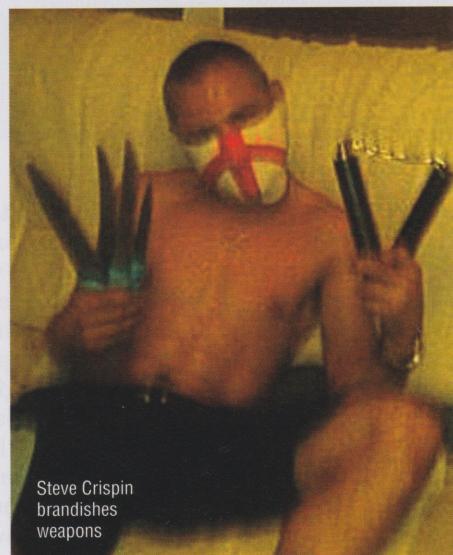
Their evidence in court, coupled with the photograph, was key to two men being convicted.

The EDL march was one of a series of demonstrations that the EDL and the smaller English Nationalist Alliance held last year in protest against an empty butcher's shop being turned into an Islamic centre.

On one of the earlier protests a young EDL supporter was tragically killed. There had also been a violent EDL attack on a meeting of the UAF only a week before this march.

So it was somewhat of a surprise on the day of the march that there was absolutely no police presence in Redbridge at its start. Over 200 EDL supporters had begun drinking early in the day at the Rendezvous Pub on Chadwell Heath High Road, after the pub's landlord had obliged the EDL by opening at 10am. Despite becoming rowdy and spilling out onto the main road, the police made no intervention and only sent along one PCSO on a bicycle to escort the group the mile from Redbridge to the proposed site of the Muslim Centre in Dagenham, where there was a large police presence waiting.

After stopping traffic and abusing shoppers and horrified passers-by, EDL supporters then attacked the two HOPE not hate photographers after the march passed Chadwell Heath train station. The PCSO assigned to escort the EDL rode away from the incident despite pleas



Steve Crispin  
brandishes  
weapons

from our photographers for assistance.

The defence had claimed that the two brothers arrived on the scene in confrontational mood, though fortunately the jury were unconvinced.

Despite an assurance given by Scotland Yard's press office that the attacks would be investigated as racially aggravated assault, no racial motive was tagged onto the charge. As a result the sentence for Crispin will be considerably lighter when he appears at Snaresbrook Magistrates on 16 July.

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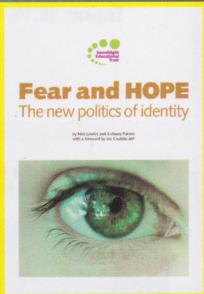
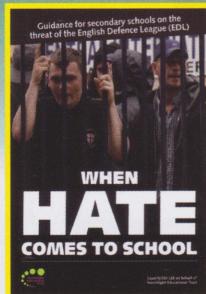
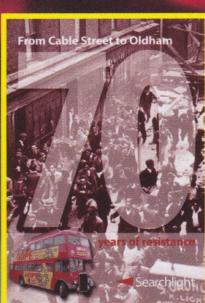
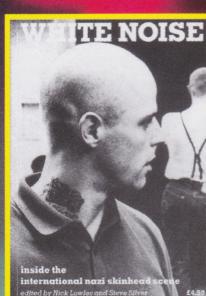
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# Proud to be British?

## Your views

THREE WEEKS AGO, just after the Queen's Jubilee celebrations, HOPE not hate asked its supporters what the Jubilee meant to them. We asked whether they felt the celebrations had made them more proud to be British and for their views more generally on Britishness and identity.

We had an amazing response with over 2,900 people filling out our survey.

There were a wide range of opinions, from those who totally hated anything to do with the monarchy to those who thought it was a positive event and enhanced a positive Britishness. Of course, there were many in between.

We ran this survey because streets, town centres and the newspapers were awash with the Union flag and many commentators saw this as a celebration of a positive Britishness. We wanted to know if our supporters agreed.

The survey results clearly show that our supporter's view on identity is complex, fluid and multi-layered. Almost two-thirds of respondents believe a national identity is important but then a majority believe a local identity is just as important. Many people who described themselves as Republicans thought a positive modern Britishness was essential.

There were others, of course, who were opposed to the Jubilee celebrations, the monarchy as an institution and any notion of Britishness whatsoever.

Many respondents from Scotland and Wales refused to identify themselves as British and most of these people thought the Jubilee celebrations had nothing to do with them.

Interestingly, however, over 90% of respondents believed that it was important for HOPE not hate to help foster togetherness and positive shared identities in local communities, something we have made a priority in recent years.

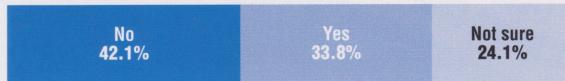
Amongst the public at large there was certainly a 'feel good' factor about the celebrations. According to a MORI poll 80% of the population support a monarchy, with just 13% opposed. This last figure is interesting as most polls over the last 20 years has shown opposition to the monarchy at roughly 20% and perhaps reflects a positive attitude of people towards the Queen and her Jubilee. This of course may be short-lived as the memory of the Jubilee fails.

There were over 10,000 organised street parties, with probably many smaller events. Over 11 million people watched the BBC coverage of the Thames procession, capturing a 61% TV share. Just over 17 million watched the Jubilee concert.

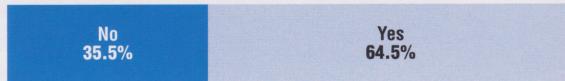
Of course, what was clear from our survey, many people attended a street party event because it was about the community coming together rather than just a celebration of the Queen.

There were some really interesting comments which summed up the complexity of defining a proscribing a single definition of our identity. While the Government appears fixated about coming up with a rigid definition of Britishness they might be more advised to accept that identity is fluid and multi-layered and more to do with shared identities and life experiences than institutions, pageantry and top down generalisations.

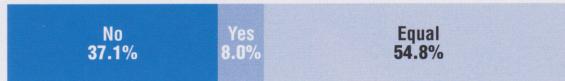
**Do you think these last few days has increased our sense of Britishness?**



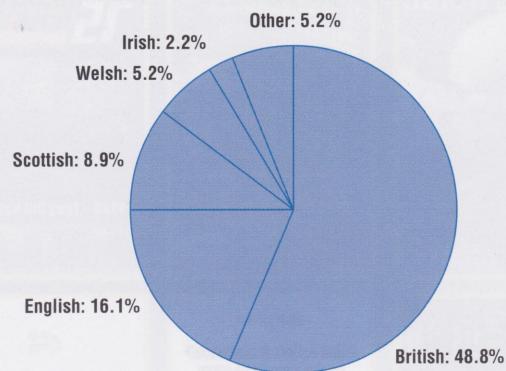
**Is a national identity important?**



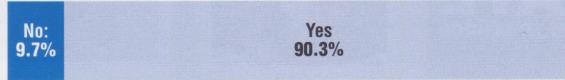
**Is national identity more important than a local community identity?**



**How would you describe yourself?**



**Do you think it is the job of HOPE not hate to help foster togetherness and positive shared identities in local communities?**



# Comment: England, Team GB and the summer of 2012

By Mark Perryman

DAVID HEMERY burning his way round the track, Mexico 1968. Mary Peters defying gravity as she hauled her frame over the high jump bar for pentathlon gold in Munich 1972. David Wilkie's victory in the pool, Montreal 1976. Coe and Ovett doubling up for glory, Moscow 1980. Daley Thompson acting the golden cheeky chappy, Los Angeles 1984. Beating Germany in the men's hockey final, Seoul 1988. Christie and Gunnell on the track at Barcelona 1992. Wind the clock forward and we have Kelly Holmes winning 800m and 1500m gold against all the odds in 2004, Hoy, Pendleton, Adlington leading Team GB's gold medal charge to fourth in the Beijing 2008 medals table.

We can measure our lives out in the glow of the quadrennial summer Olympics. Each games as likely to be remembered for the achievements of others, as well as our own. 1968 for the huge leap by Bob Beamon, 1972 the impish Olga Korbut tilting her head at the close of her floor routine in the gymnastics hall. And so it goes on.

This is the core of the Olympian appeal. Flying in the face of ideologies that position nationalism as the polar opposite of internationalism.

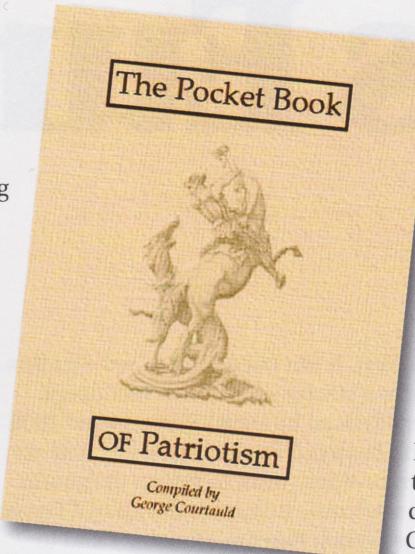
The 2012 London Olympics will take place in this context, one that is further complicated by the cheerleading for Team GB in the face of a breaking-up Britain.

Consulting my dog-eared copy of George Courtaud's best-selling *The Pocket Book of Patriotism*, confirms suspicions that Britishness represents a political culture founded on subjecthood rather than citizenship. There it is in back and white, 'Happy and glorious, long to reign over us' the essentials of any constitutional relationship handily summed up in the first lines of the National Anthem. An entirely different ethos to the French, whose anthem the Marseillaise comedian Rob Newman rather neatly once described as "a rebel song named after a town with a large immigrant population. An English equivalent might be the Clash's 'Guns of Brixton'".

Newman made the comparison a few months after a trouble-strewn English campaign at World Cup 98 had coincided with the Scots and the Welsh preparing to vote for devolution. Thus began a decade or more of increasing separation of this United Kingdom and a growing sense that England was no longer the same as Britain.

The process of devolution began with the Scots and Welsh referendums of 1997, was settled by the Acts which put in place their respective representative institutions, and finally completed by the restoration of powers to Northern Ireland's Stormont. This entrenched a process that whilst not complete imprints an indelible question mark on what remains of a tattered and torn apart Union Jack.

At football's Euro '96 England were pitted in the group stages against Scotland at Wembley before the inevitable exit,



on penalties, at the hands of Germany in the semi-finals. Ever since, in terms of sporting nationalism at least, England has reigned victorious in any contest for popular loyalty versus team GB which scarcely exists outside the Olympics.

The football team is unmistakably English, with no equivalent of cricket's need for South Africans to make up the squad. The football team's achievements however, pale into insignificance compared to rugby and cricket. Yet the mere fact of consecutive qualifications for every World Cup and Euro since 1996, Euro 08 excepted, with heaped up expectations of ending 44 years of trophyless hurt, has been more than sufficient to shape an unprecedented popularity of identification with all things England and St George.

While only the Olympics, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee and the funeral procession of servicemen's coffins returning from Afghanistan fly the Union Jack with anything like the same breadth and depth of appeal.

This puzzle of the dual identification with England and Great Britain today takes place in the context of two powerful political actors, multiculturalism and globalisation. The days of an all-white team ended with Viv Anderson capped in 1979, it took much longer for the make up of the fans to alter too but this has largely now been achieved. England as much a team of inner city England as the shires, in fact far more so the former than the latter.

The shaping of a popular cosmopolitanism, while hardly resolutely anti-racist nevertheless is imbued with an acceptance in football at least of the benefits of multiculturalism. Just before World Cup 2010 journalist Gary Younge neatly said: "The cry of 'British Jobs for British Workers' has been drowned out by chants for players whose names the fans can barely pronounce." He characterises modern English football as "the story of mass migration" linking this to the growth of the appeal of supporting to this new generation of Black and Asian fans "because English football looks more or less like the England they inhabit."

Englishness and Britishness are processes in motion and sport plays a crucial role in this process. A racialised nationalism wants to freeze this process, to turn the clock back if possible. Some anti-fascists prefer to ignore national identity, informed by a one-dimensional version of marxism with a fixed version of what constitutes internationalism. Effective anti-fascism, of the sort the HOPE not hate campaign has brilliantly mobilised in recent years, seeks to play a full part in the shaping of an inclusive, civic, national identity, whether English or British. The summer of 2012 will be a crucial test of that ambition.

Mark Perryman is the author of *Why The Olympics Aren't Good For Us, And How They Can Be*, available from [www.orbooks.com](http://www.orbooks.com)

# The blind alley that is Eurabia

By Jean-Yves Camus

**T**he ideology that drove Anders Breivik Behring's frontal assault on the Norwegian state and young activists of the Social Democratic Party is not the ravings of a single man. It is an intellectual construct that he himself explains in his self-styled 2083 manifesto *A European Declaration of Independence*, a work which appears to be mainly a compilation of the writings of Anglo-Saxon authors belonging to the most radical fringe of the neo-conservative movement.

The investigation, *Det mørke nettet* (The Dark Network), by the Norwegian journalist Øyvind Strømmen clearly shows the anti-Muslim obsessions that have gripped a significant portion of the xenophobic radical right in Western Europe since the early 2000s. Above all, this is the fear of what they call "Eurabia", a neologism coined in 2006 by the essayist Bat Ye'or, designating a European continent and a culture that have surrendered voluntarily to Islam and to *Sharia*, its body of normative laws, having denied their "Judeo-Christian" roots and, in addition, that are being demographically overwhelmed by Muslims so that the white European "mainstream" will soon become a minority. According to this thesis, another neologism, the *dhimmitude* (being subjected to the protected status of subject – and thus second class citizen – after the imposition of Islam on non-Muslims) would be the inevitable future – and the conscious choice – of the peoples of our continent, if it not already our daily reality.

The theory of Eurabia is presented in two versions. Those with the scientific pretensions of Bat Ye'or and her followers, who are not ideologues of the extreme right, want to demonstrate that Europe, the "old Europe" is a lost continent that can claim only a subordinate role in the international arena, no longer embodying the values of

the West. It has been little noted that this is also a strongly anti-French concept, as evidenced by David Pryce-Jones' 2008 book *Betrayal: France, the Arabs, and the Jews*, re-titled, thus, to return the stamp of antisemitic infamy to the Quai d'Orsay – the French Foreign Ministry – and to three successive republics and to present France as an unreliable ally or even an opponent of the United States, Great Britain and NATO.

In circles that treat "Eurabia" as an established reality, it is France that is designated as the main instigator of the policy of "capitulation" to Islam that allegedly began after the 1973 oil crisis. What is denied is nothing less than the right of France to have policies towards the Maghreb, the Mashreq and West Africa shaped by its geography and its history, policies that prefer a multipolar world to a remake of the Cold War in which the "Free World" should stem the onslaught of Islam.

We obviously hope that European foreign policy is not simply "realistic" and that it denounces abuses of human rights in the Arab world as elsewhere, that it reaffirms the right of Israel to exist in security and secure borders and that it recognises the right of Jews around the world to settle there. The question is whether, as the theory of Eurabia suggests, these goals can be achieved in any credible way by using concepts marked by skullduggery, by denying the reality of the existence of the Palestinian people and by promoting a programme of global confrontation.

In the language of the theorists of Eurabia, the concept of the West has replaced that of Europe, evidence for them that our continent should be defined only by its transatlantic link and not as a distinct entity. The idea of Eurabia is used to give moral justification to America's undisputed world leadership, provided, of course, that US foreign policy is not that of President

Barack Obama but his opponents, notably those who accuse the US head of state of selling out the interests of Israel and who have wanted, even since before the strengthening of international sanctions, to finish off the Iranian regime with military intervention. These same polemicists accuse Europe of abandoning its Jews to the new antisemitism of Muslim immigrants who are held to be inherently hostile to Israel's existence and supposedly promise the Israeli and Jewish peoples another genocide.

The theologian of the Holocaust, Richard L. Rubenstein, for whom the "genocidal potential" of Jihadist ideology is an outright threat to all non-Muslims, outlined this latter hypothesis in 2009 in his book *Jihad and Genocide*. In the Manichean world of Eurabia, Islam has replaced Communism as an enemy of civilisation. Like Communism, it is an absolute opponent, made even more formidable by being both an external enemy (*al Qaeda*, in particular) and the enemy within.

It is probably the latter aspect that has the most serious political consequences for the cohesion of European societies. Indeed, proponents of the Eurabia theory are obsessed with Islam, not Islamism. They consider that the first is both a culture and a political project, that of the global caliphate, and that the second is neither reformable nor capable of moderating itself. This amounts to a kind of ideological house arrest for individuals of Arab-Muslim identity that they cannot even shed by assimilation. Conversion of Muslims to Christianity is not a very popular option among anti-radical Muslims among whom practicing Catholics and Protestants are a minority.

The constant reference to Judeo-Christianity is, in itself, problematic insofar as this notion is on shaky theological ground, unacceptable from the standpoint of traditional Judaism



and to which Catholic fundamentalists only pay lip service. As a consequence proponents of Eurabia think that those who are born Muslims have only one way to renounce it: that of public apostasy.

The controversy around Eurabia burns most fiercely in secular circles in France. On the one hand, there are activists who have never spared criticism of political Islam and continue to fight against all forms of fundamentalism, proclaiming themselves as the integrationist and universalist republican left. On the other hand, however, some of their former fellow travellers seem to have evolved towards ethno-differentialism, ideas about the "clash of civilisations" and a fight against Islam whose outcomes are not easily determined and could include drastic restriction of freedom of worship for Muslims, as suggested by their new-found idol Geert Wilders or could even shift towards a national patriotism born on the shore of the left sovereignty that would reduce the concept of *Nation* to the question of "identity" and end by agreeing with a "mainstreamised" Front National.

One can also point out that the Dutch Freedom Party, like Pim Fortuyn before it and the xenophobic populism found in Scandinavia, has marshalled the emancipatory ideas of the left in the 70s – rights of women, homosexuals and other minorities (Jews in particular) threatened by the suppression of "deviance" that

Islamists in power would implement – against Islam. The final theoretical problem posed by the notion of Eurabia is the use of the terms "Islamofascism" and "nazislamism", the former having been used by George W. Bush himself.

These polemical terms are scientifically irrelevant because fascism and Nazism are ideologies of the New Man and not of a return to a Golden Age. They are obsessed with modernity and upheaval – the fascist Italian Casapound uses the term *turbofascism* to describe its ideas – and not the static and they resort to the cult of the Total State, whereas Islam thrives under economic liberalism and low state intervention state and, in its radical form, completely rejects the need for the State.

This kind of argumentation, the same kind that equates communism and fascism, precludes any consideration of the nuances and different categories of totalitarianism even if they are all morally reprehensible. Comparing Islamism with fascism and Nazism means that, as the memories of the latter diminish, the acceptability of Islamism will grow. Meanwhile, the concept of *Green [Islamic] fascism* allows those who subscribe to it to claim, falsely, that their own resistance to Islam emulates the moral and political continuity of the struggle against the Fascist and Nazi powers of the past. Indeed, a newly created Counter-Jihadist group in Belgium has called itself simply *The Resistance*.

The Islamophobic Westernism of the proponents of Eurabia is a dead end. It is primarily a debilitating myth because, if the Islamisation of Europe has already taken place, if the peoples of Europe are already minority on their continent, if they have no sense of history and politics, why fight for a civilisation that is already doomed or has already passed away? Eurabia is a defeatist and demotivating thinking posture. The very idea demeans the concept of European civilisation to the level of a backlash against the Other without proposing a coherent cultural project capable of defining the values that would facilitate integration of Europe's Muslims. It demonstrates the enormous difficulties European culture has in talking about identities while avoiding the twin dangers of relativism and uniformity. It is also a geopolitical absurdity because it ignores the fact that the location of Europe makes it the main contact zone with the Arab-Muslim world.

All of these things show the real desires of the proponents of Eurabia. As suggested by the name of their favourite website, they want to reduce Europe to being a political night watchman looking constantly towards "The Gates of Vienna" to prepare the *Reconquista*, emulating the final recapture of the Iberian Peninsula from the Moors in 1492.

■ This is a translated and edited version of an article that first appeared in *Le Monde*, May 2012

# Armed and Dangerous

## THE RE-EMERGENCE OF MURDEROUS WHITE NATIONALISTS

From Eric O'Neill in Washington



J.T. Ready in action

**N**ovember 4, 2008 will be forever remembered for its historical moment: the day the world watched as the United States elected its first black President. Not everyone was participating in the evening's celebrations across the country, however. Some were busy planning a "race war" and it would take the American public nearly four years to pay attention to the growing trail of violence.

The recent May 2012 arrests of 13 members of the Nazi American Front (AF) have begun to awaken the U.S. public to a clearly growing threat. Law enforcement alleges that AF member Marcus Faella planned and prepared the AF for what he believed to be an inevitable "race war." An affidavit related to the arrests states that AF's goal was to prepare members "to kill Jews, immigrants and other minorities." The American Front had also created a comprehensive fortified paramilitary complex about 10 miles from Walt Disney World theme parks in the city of Orlando, Florida. Members of AF were detained after authorities became convinced that Faella and others were committed to attacking an anti-racism organisation's rally in early May.

The AF arrests led the Missouri National Guard and the U.S. Department of Defense to begin its own investigations of an Iraq War veteran and current member of the Guard who may have travelled to Florida to train AF members.

This was the second time this year that the Missouri National Guard found itself investigating white nationalists within its military units. Earlier in March the Missouri National Guard dismissed another member, Sergeant Nathan Wooten, from a special unit after it was proven that he kept a photo of Adolf Hitler in his living room.

Wooten had also attempted to recruit other Guard members into the National Socialist Movement (NSM), one of the largest white nationalist organisations

in the U.S. Wooten told Guard members that the country would be better without blacks, Mexicans and Jews.

Wooten is not the only individual associated with the NSM who is or has been under investigation this year. Nearly 1500 miles away in the city of Gilbert, Arizona, military and law enforcement officials are asking questions about the now deceased J.T. Ready. In May of this year Ready, a recent leader of NSM and a candidate for local Sheriff (See *HnH* Issue 1), took his own life after murdering four individuals including his girlfriend, her daughter, and an 18-month old toddler. Warrants issued in the wake of the murders suggest that law enforcement examining the crime scene found weapons stolen from the military.

Ready departed from the NSM in June 2010 to form his own paramilitary organisation focused on intimidating Latino migrants crossing the border. Ready, never shy, boasted online of his goal to make the U.S. a "White, European homeland" and called for activities that targeted Jews. Stephen Lemons, a writer for *Phoenix New Times* and an expert on right-wing movements in Arizona points out that merely days before the mass murders J.T. Ready boasted to a neighbour that he was hunting down "two-legged varmints" in desert patrols.

Disturbingly, Lemons writes that J.T. Ready claimed that his paramilitary organisation worked in "collaboration" with the U.S. Border Patrol, an assertion representatives of the agency have so far refused to confirm or deny. In response to online pictures of J.T. Ready and border officers together, the agency told Lemons "We do respond to citizen calls. It doesn't matter who calls." Lemons faults the agency for not investigating J.T. Ready's paramilitary patrols.

The inability of the U.S. Border Patrol to police border vigilante groups has led to tragic consequences in Arizona. In May 2009, a few months after President Barack Obama was sworn in, border

vigilantes Shawna Forde, Jason "Gunny" Bush, and Albert Gaxiola initiated an armed home invasion that resulted in the coldblooded murders of 9-year old Brisenia Flores and her father Juan who were shot to death. Forde had begun to recruit members of the Aryan Nations for home invasion scheme targeting immigrants to raise funds for what experts called an attempt to ignite a "border race war."

Borders provide passage both ways and ironically in early June 2012, William White, the leader of the American National Socialist Workers' Party, was arrested by U.S. and Mexican officials after having illegally fled across the border to Mexico and violating the terms of probation. White was on supervised release after serving Federal time after he threatened victims by phone internet postings and mail in 2009. Apparently U.S. Border Patrol's draconian policy to "protect the borders" does not apply to stopping individuals associated with violent white nationalist organisations.

In February 2010, the Border Patrol and its umbrella Department of Homeland Security provided entry to the United States for Nick Griffin of the Nazi British National Party to speak to white nationalists. Griffin became an organiser for the National Front, a Nazi organisation in 1978 and in the 1980s travelled to Libya as a guest of Muammar al-Gaddafi in order to seek funding for the organisation. In the 80's Griffin was closely involved with Roberto Fiore, a man convicted in 1985 for being a member of an Italian fascist terrorist organisation involved in a train bombing that killed eighty-five people. Griffin, no stranger to racism, homophobia, and antisemitism, was himself convicted in 1998 for inciting racial hatred.

With this history one has to wonder why the Department of Homeland Security, which oversees the U.S. Border Patrol, allowed Griffin into

the country. In fact, from early on the Obama administration and the government agencies it oversees remained silent in response to growing white nationalist terror.

The recent nazi plots in the US fit well with the long series of violent incidents that began surfacing in the weeks leading up to the 2008 Presidential elections. During the Democratic Party National Convention in August 2008, police in Denver, Colorado detained three individuals after a weapon, drugs and wigs were discovered in their possession. The individuals, described as "white supremacists", were eventually released without charges. Two months later two nazi skinheads were arrested in Tennessee after law enforcement uncovered their plans to behead black Americans and assassinate Barack Obama. The local paper, the *Jackson Sun* stated, "Daniel Cowart and Paul Schlesselman planned to kill 88 black people and behead another 14." "H" is the 8th letter in the alphabet and 88 is used to symbolize the Nazi greeting "Heil Hitler". By November the *Chicago Tribune* had documented over 200 hate incidents directed at Obama and his supporters.

As Obama and millions of supporters around the United States were preparing to celebrate the election victory on the evening of November 4, 2008, Ralph Nicoletti was targeting blacks whom he believed had voted for Obama. Nicoletti's violent spree included attacking one teenager with a metal pipe and running down with his car another man whom he mistakenly believed to be African American. Blacks were not the only targets of intimidation and violence in a growing political "race war" backlash to the Obama Presidency:

- January 21, 2009 – Enraged by the election of Barack Obama, suspect Keith Luke was arrested after the rape and murder of a young immigrant woman, the shooting of her sister, and the killing of a homeless man in Brockton, Massachusetts. Keith Luke intended to massacre individuals attending the local Jewish temple later but was arrested in route.
- February 26, 2009 – Five international students from Chile were shot, two killed and three critically wounded, while sitting at their kitchen table in Miramar Beach, Florida. The shooter, Dannie Baker was mentally ill and regularly viewed far right materials.
- April 4, 2009 – Richard Andrew Poplawski murdered three officers responding to a domestic violence report in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Poplawski



was subsequently linked to U.S. white nationalist organisation Stormfront.

- June 10, 2009 – Longtime antisemite James Von Brunn opened fire at the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington D.C., shooting African American security guard Stephen T. Johns who died protecting museum visitors. Von Brunn was a member of the now defunct American Friends of the British National Party and a former associate of well-known US antisemite Willis Carto.
- March 27, 2010 – 30-year-old anti-racist activist Luke Querner suffered a single gunshot wound in ambush as he left his birthday celebration in Portland, Oregon. Querner was critically wounded and permanently paralysed. A local paper, *The Vancouver Source*, quoted a confidential informant who claims that his white nationalist organisation, Volksfront, was responsible for the act. To date no arrests have been made.
- January 17, 2011 – White nationalist Kevin Harpham planned on setting off an improvised explosive device (IED) in the middle of an annual Martin Luther King Jr. Parade in Spokane, Washington. The deadly device was spotted by city employees who alerted police who defused the bomb. Harpham told a judge that he planned on targeting minorities in an attempt to commit a hate crime.

These types of activities continue unabated and unabashed. As the May 2012 roundup of American Front members was occurring in Florida, nazi Joseph Benjamin Thomas of St. Paul, Minnesota, was indicted on drug charges. The FBI contends that Thomas and 31-year-old Samuel James Johnson, a former member of the NSM, were also attempting to form a new white nationalist group with a "militant wing".

Thomas, says the FBI, expected a

race war and planned on bombing the Mexican consulate in his city ahead of the 2012 presidential election. Thomas had also noted the license plates of individuals with Obama bumper stickers and asked a friend to volunteer at a politically left bookstore to obtain addresses of customers. Thomas hoped to target these individuals as well. While the FBI says that Thomas had the capacity to carry these threats out, he has not been charged with any terrorism-related activities.

A couple of weeks later, 48-year-old nazi Douglas Story was arrested on May 30 for having a fully-automatic AK-47 assault rifle, which is illegal in the U.S. The FBI reports that Story has expressed support for violence against President Obama. An April, 2010 local news report said Story had the license plates on his pickup truck revoked by the Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles because of complaints about his vanity tags "14CV88," code for nazi and white nationalist ideas.

According to court records, Story came to the attention of law enforcement because of his posts on an Aryan Nation's website where he posted under the screen name "Confederate Brother."

While these white nationalist activities are typically looked upon as isolated incidents, the impact is of significant import for a multiracial country committed to an open democratic society.

Without effective community responses and with the refusal of governmental agencies to respond to the growing epidemic, white nationalist violence will continue. As the presidential elections heat up the American public must ensure that politics are not swayed by terror and intimidation.

# Salute

Review by Joe Batty

THIS POWERFUL and intimate documentary film details the momentous period leading up to the 1968 Olympics in Mexico, and the impact on the participants of a most startling event in sporting and political history that took place during the games. The occasion, where athletes gave a clenched fist Black Power salute on the winners' podium, in protest against racism in the United States, lingers in the minds of African Americans and continues to inspire people today.

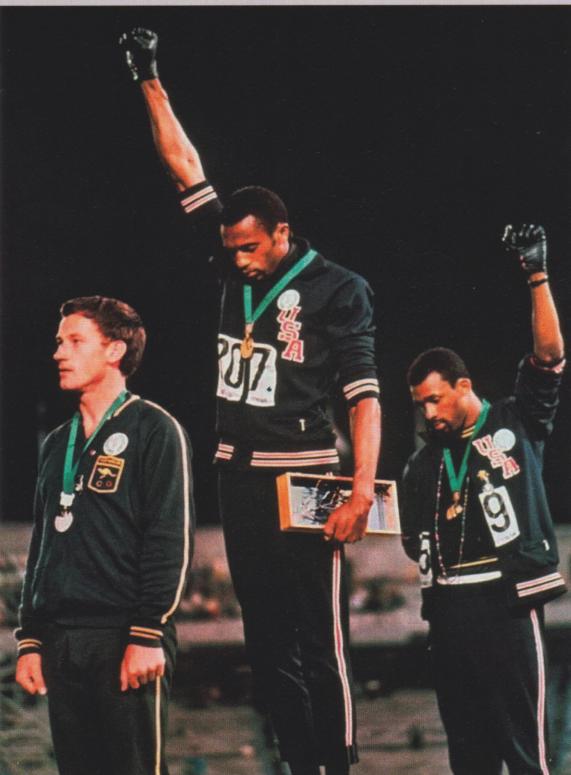
In a time where all manner of things are fashionably "iconic" *Salute* tackles a genuinely iconic moment, beamed across the world on the latest must have commodity, the colour television. It was a year that was also to see footage broadcast of the death of Martin Luther King and John F Kennedy, continuing footage of the war in Vietnam and mass demonstrations in France.

Ironically, a massacre of protesters ten days before the games started by government forces in the Tlatelolco section of Mexico City, did not receive the same television coverage.

Posters hung in a million homes of American sprinters John Carlos and Tommy Smith, each with one gloved hand held aloft and their heads bowed, while a white man, Peter Norman – arms by his side – looks the world in the face.

Norman, an Australian, was in fact part of the protest and had supplied the American athletes with their gloves and was himself wearing the badge of the Project for Human Rights. *Salute* focuses on Norman to tell the story of the event using archive footage and other material.

Completed shortly after Peter Norman died a few years ago, the documentary is directed and produced by Matt Norman, his nephew. It explores Peter Norman's motives and looks at why a white Australian with no experience of political activism felt morally compelled to



ask if he could join the protest.

Norman had surprised the world by taking silver medal in an extraordinary race that has almost been forgotten, where the winner broke the world record by a third of a second and Norman himself had equalled the record. Remarkably, Norman's time of 20 seconds flat for the 1968 200 metres final would have won gold in Sydney 2000 and is still an Australian record.

Norman was a religious man from a Salvationist background and it is this upbringing that had a great bearing on his decision to support the protest. Shot by Norman's nephew Carlos and Smith participate in the documentary and illuminate the story. Such was the bond that the men developed that when Norman died 38 years later, Carlos and Smith were amongst his pallbearers.

John Carlos and Tommy Smith saw their careers end on that Olympic dais; the Olympic Federation and the American athletics' governing bodies destroyed them as athletes. They were banned for

life. They were ruined financially and sportingly – Carlos's wife later committing suicide.

Norman's career too was all but ended. Despite qualifying to compete a staggering 13 times for the 200 metres for the 1972 Olympics he was not selected for Australia. It is an astonishing fact considering he was the fastest man in the world that year and tipped to win gold. Instead Australia chose not to select a single sprinter that year.

The racism of the Olympic Federation had scared the Australian selectors. *Salute* exposes this ingrained racism which we can still find echoes of in major sporting bodies today.

It would be easy to dismiss this cruelty on the part of the Australian Olympic Committee as merely a decision from a bye-gone age of bigotry. In fact decades later, Norman was not invited to his home town

Olympics in Sydney in 2000. It was the Americans who lionized the third man on *that* podium and who phoned him up and insisted he attended as their guest.

That occasion was the first time he had felt really welcomed back; many years had passed and he had become almost anonymous. However, he had not been forgotten. When Norman saw Michael Johnson – an American four times Olympic gold medallist sprinter – at a games after party and, star struck, went to introduce himself – Johnson stopped him in his tracks saying "I know who you are, you are my hero".

*Salute* is an inspirational film that introduces the audience to a previously unsung sporting hero.

**Director, Writer and Producer:**  
Matt Norman, Producer, David Redman,  
Arrow Films  
**In Cinemas from 13 July 2012**

# HUNGARY

## A right-wing work in progress

By Graeme Atkinson and Jens Breuer

HUNGARY IS TILTING far to the right and presenting a major headache for the European Union.

The ruling conservative Fidesz Party (Hungarian Civic Union) government of Viktor Orbán wields a two-thirds majority and continues to turn the fledgling central European democracy upside down with dramatic constitutional changes tightening its grip on power and pushing to install an authoritarian and nationalist political culture.

Founded in 1988 as a libertarian, anti-communist organisation that sought inspiration from Liberal parties in western Europe, Fidesz began its shift towards hard right conservative positions in 1994. Just four years later, the party was in government, Orbán was prime minister and some

of the policies now being implemented were being floated.

Fidesz's ethnically-based citizenship policy is one example. In 2001, Orbán's government adopted the "status law" making Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries eligible for benefits and services when they travelled to Hungary.

And, even before Fidesz's formal takeover of government, the Hungarian Parliament decided, in May 2010, that "Hungarians living abroad" would be able to acquire Hungarian citizenship from 1 January 2011. By October 2011, more than 150,000 applications had been made.

At the next general election scheduled for 2014, these "new Hungarians" will also be allowed to vote. In January this year,

the *Budapester Zeitung* revealed that, according to a survey of the 1.1 million eligible Hungarians living in Romania, as many 55% of them would reward Fidesz with their vote.

Of particular importance for the advance of both Fidesz and its fifth wheel, the nazi Jobbik party, were the protests against the then premier Ferenc Gyurcsány and his mainly Socialist coalition government in September and October 2006. Violent demonstrations took place for weeks, incited by Fidesz and its extreme right-wing allies.

Orbán and the extremists managed to win the streets for themselves and, in the 2010 parliamentary elections, in alliance with the Christian Democratic Party, won 263 of the 386 seats.

Since then, Fidesz has pressed ahead to railroad

through a host of constitutional alterations. Using its majority, Fidesz has codified its flat-tax policy, hammered unprecedented government controls over the judiciary and the media into place, removed any meaningful parliamentary checks on legislation, and severely threatened the autonomy of cultural, media and civic institutions.

The very weak opposition is systematically sidelined and critics silenced with a new media law. Fidesz is filling important state offices, especially in the judiciary and in the cultural domain, with its own people as soon as the previous office holders or employees retire or have been dismissed.

None of this has escaped the attention of international bodies, with the EU, the Venice Commission and the US government all expressing

### HUNGARY KEY FACTS

#### PARTIES

There is only one fascist party with national relevance – Jobbik

#### Jobbik

- Membership approximately 13,000
- 2009 European Parliament election 2009: 427,773 votes, 14.77%, 3 seats
- 2010 Hungarian Parliament election: First round, 855,436 votes, 16.67%. Second round, 141,323 votes, 12.26%, 47 seats.
- Jobbik's newspaper is the weekly *Barikád* – circulation 10,000-11,000.
- The party's youth organisation, Jobbik Ifjúsági Tagozat (Jobbik Youth Division) was formed in 2011.

#### Hungarian Party of Justice and Life (MIÉP)

Established 1993 by well-known playwright István Csurka. Claims to be radical, nationalist, conservative and anti-globalist. In 1998 it passed the parliamentary threshold with almost 250,000 votes (5.5%). In the 2002 elections, it dropped out of parliament. MIÉP gained only 0.03% of votes in the 2010 elections. Csurka's recent death is likely to spell its end.

#### OTHER ORGANISATIONS

##### ■ Hungarian Guard

Founded August 2007 – Banned December 2008. Since the ban the 700 strong organisation has splintered into numerous "Guard" organisations.

##### ■ Blood & Honour

Nazi skinhead organisation founded in 1998 and banned in 2005.

##### ■ Hungarian National Front (MNA)

A nazi group founded in 1989 in Györ. The MNA organises illegal military training.

##### ■ Sixty-Four Counties Youth Movement (HVIM)

Named in memory of Greater Hungary, HVIM is a fascist, antisemitic and racist youth organisation. Founded in 2001 by László Toroczkai, today an elected representative of Jobbik at county level, its honorary leader is György Gyula Zagya, a Jobbik MP. One of its leaders, Béla Incze, was recently arrested for desecrating Soviet and Holocaust memorials in Budapest.

##### ■ Pax Hungarica

Re-established in 2008 after being banned in 2005, along with its forerunner organisation, Blood and

Honour Cultural Association (B&HCA). The current leader of the movement is Endre János Domokos, formerly the leader of the outlawed B&HCA. Members sport Arrow Cross uniforms.

##### ■ Army of Outlaws (Betyársereg)

A loose alliance of right-wing extremist groups. Founded by László Toroczkai, circa 2008, its the most prominent personality is Zsolt Tyrityán.

##### ■ Hunnia

Established in 2007 by György Budaházy and László Toroczkai, it was behind the "Arrows of the Hungarians National Liberating Army, against which various terrorism-related charges have been filed.

#### KEY FIGURES

■ György Budaházy. Flamboyant nazi leader of the Hunnia movement. At the end of May, 2012, György Budaházy, leader of the Hunnia movement, was fined for vandalising Budapest's Soviet war memorial. He still faces terrorism charges.

##### ■ Lóránt Hegedüs Jnr.

Rabidly antisemitic Calvinist priest and Jobbik member, Hegedüs blessed Hungarian Guard paramilitaries at a rally in

Budapest in 2008. He is an admirer of Dezső Szabó, whose call to physically exterminate Hungary's Jews in 1921 preceded Hitler's, and hosted David Irving's 2007 visit to Budapest.

##### ■ Gábor Vona (pictured).

Leader of Jobbik since 2006, he is avowedly anti-democratic and openly anti-Roma and antisemitic. Wore banned nazi Hungarian Guard uniform in parliament and addressed nazi pogromists in Gyöngyöspata last year.

■ Krisztina Morvai MEP. Elected to the European Parliament in June 2009 on the Jobbik ticket, and wore Hungarian Guard-style garb at her first appearance there. Morvai is infamous for her anti-Jewish outbursts.

#### MEDIA

■ Magyar Hírlap. A right-wing daily that publishes antisemitic and anti-Roma articles.

■ Kuruc Info. Kuruc.info is one of the most significant hate outfits operating in Hungary. Its main activity is the production of its "news portal" propaganda publication.





Fascists occupy Gyöngyöspata

deep concern at the developments in Hungary.

Nor has Fidesz improved Hungary's economic plight. Battered by the world crisis, the economy is shrinking, there is a huge deficit, the jobless tally is 11.7% and Orbán is angling for a big International Monetary Fund bailout.

Sitting in the wings, with 47 seats and sometimes supporting Fidesz but mainly savouring its failure is the nazi Jobbik party. Its leader, Gábor Vona, sells it as "national-Christian", "anti-EU" and "anti-globalisation". Openly anti-democratic it is also virulently anti-Roma and

antisemitic with links to Nick Griffin's BNP in Britain.

Jobbik's fixation on the Hungarian nation and the national identity is used to demarcate ethnic Hungarians from the Roma and to some extent from Jews and facilitates the party's propaganda for a "Greater Hungary", overturning the post-WWI Trianon Treaty which cut Hungarian territory by 72%.

The organisation sees Hungary threatened not only from abroad, but also by enemies within: Roma, who it regards as "criminals" and "anti-social" and Jews who are supposedly the agents

of foreign powers and "not welcome here", communists who allegedly tried again to force Hungary under the yoke of a dictatorship and finally, homosexuals who allegedly try to pervert decency.

Unique among European nazi organisations, Jobbik has its own uniformed private army, the Hungarian Guard, founded by Vona in June 2007. The Guard, which uses the infamous Árpád stripes insignia of the wartime Hungarian Nazi Arrow Cross Party. The Arrow Cross collaborated with the Nazis and was responsible for the murder of thousands of Hungarian Jews in the

Holocaust in which over 450,000 Hungarian Jews perished.

The Hungarian Guard was banned in 2009 but has reappeared and frequently invades Roma villages, terrorising local people. Guardists – along with supporters of the outlawed Blood & Honour network – have been implicated in racist murders of which there have been at least nine – two of them children – in the past four years.

Jobbik has international links via the Alliance of European National Movements together with the British National Party, Tricolour Flame (Italy), Republican Social Movement (Spain), National Renovator Party (Portugal), National Democrats (Sweden), Svoboda (Ukraine) and the Freedom Party (Finland). It also has relations with convicted Italian Terrorist and Forza Nuovo boss Roberto Fiore and the regime of Iranian Holocaust Denier, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. ●

## HUNGARY MAP

**1. Hejoszalonta** – 2011, 600 Jobbik supporters staged torchlit march against "Gypsy terror"

**2. Hajdúhadház** – 2011, invaded by nazi Civil Guard which local mayor slammed for "wanting civil war"

**3. Tiszavasvári** – 2011, Jobbik mayor set up a uniformed vigilante group in response to supposed "gypsy crime". Also set up a gendarmerie independent of the local police

**4. Gyöngyöspata** – ongoing assaults by Jobbik supporters and fascist private armies, driving Roma residents out and provoking violence

**5. Siofok** – 2010, Roma family firebombed

**6. Györ** – 1989, homebase of nazi Hungarian National Front led by convicted criminal István Györköss

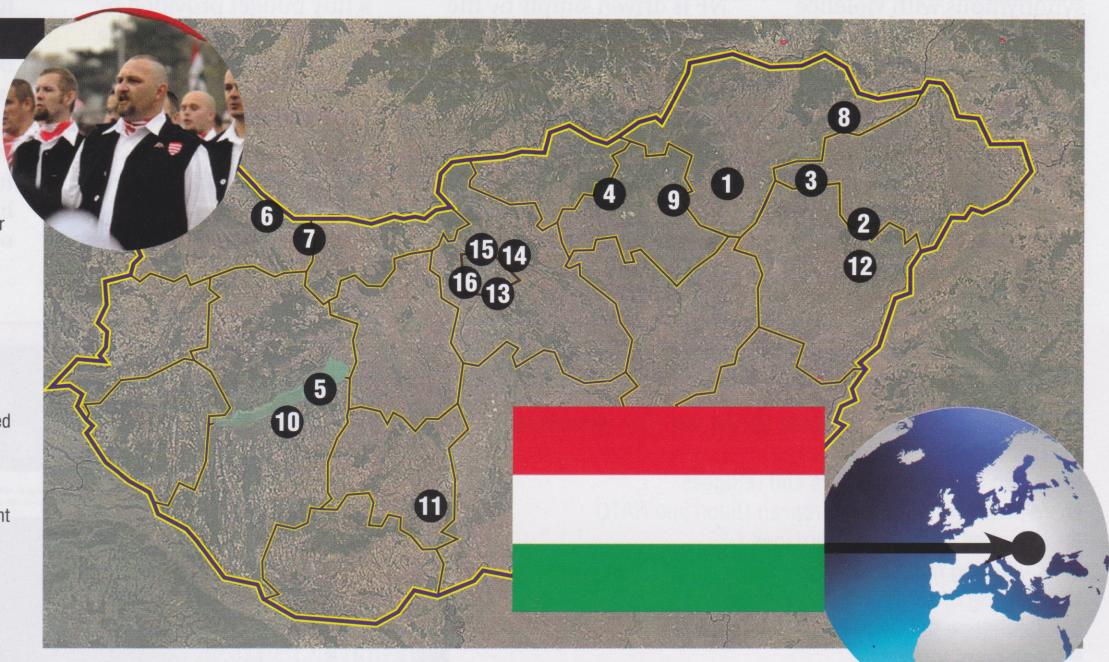
**7. Böny** – 2009, Hungarian National Front holds secret military camps

**8. Olaszliszka** – 2010, bullets fired at home of Roma family

**9. Eger** – 2012, Hungarian Jewish film star József Székelyi described as "a filthy Jew" by Fidesz councillor György Várkonyi

**10. Kereki** – 2012, a statue of interwar antisemitic, anti-communist regent Admiral Horthy erected

**11. Szekszárd** – 2010, László Sarkozy, secretary of a Hungarian Roma group, publicly beaten by Hungarian Guard members and forced to flee the country.



**12. Debrecen** – erected a statue honouring the racist writer, war criminal and fascist cult figure Albert Wass. Will also restore plaque to Admiral Horthy.

**13. Budapest** – 2011, Magyar Sziget festival, attended by tens of thousands of nazis from across Europe, salutes Norwegian mass killer Anders Breivik

**14. Budapest** – 2012, Soviet and Holocaust memorials desecrated by 64 Counties nazis. Two arrested, including group leader Béla Incze

**15. Budapest/Hajógyári-Sziget** – 2012, scene of Jobbik three-day "national picnic", attended by several thousand nazis from across Europe

**16. Budapest** – 2012, Jewish staff at New Theatre forced out by Fidesz-controlled city council. New artistic director György Dörner is a notorious antisemite and Jobbik fan

# National Front

## A HISTORY

The National Front (NF) was formed in 1967 by fairly obscure organisations on the far-right. They created one of the most notorious and longest running racist organisations in the world.

The NF began life as an uncomfortable coalition of the conservative right, old fashioned imperialists and Hitler admirers. After becoming Britain's fourth largest party by the mid seventies, the election of the right wing Conservative Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in the 1979 General Election, saw the NF begin a headfirst dive. Its misfortune took it into a seedy world of factional strife, violent splits and at times, incredible ideological oddities.

John Hutchins Tyndall is the best known of all NF leaders. He led the NF from 1972-1974 and again from 1976-1980, when Martin Webster accompanied him in a double act that made the National Front a household name, synonymous with violence and neo-nazism. The party went into the 1979 General Election with an impressive 303 candidates but gained a disastrous average vote of little over 0.5%. The NF finally split into three warring factions in 1980, eventually leading to Tyndall and his

hardline followers forming the rival British National Party (BNP) in 1982.

It is near impossible to accurately put a figure on the number of splits and leaders that the NF has had in over forty five years. Even the party's own online history is grossly inaccurate. But the NF has provided almost every other tiny far-right organisation in the UK with all of its senior members (past and present,) including the BNP's current leader Nick Griffin and of course its founder, John Tyndall.

## A RETURN TO YEAR ZERO

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s the NF came close to complete extinction. But it has proved itself as a survivor and even though it is a shell of the organisation it once was it still attracts a working class membership that embraces a fanaticism for racism, ultra-nationalism and outright nazism.

Such is the nature of its membership and history, the NF is driven simply by the will to survive and to agitate on the perimeters of the law to build a mass movement in preparation for what it sees as the inevitability of a race war.

Since a short lived but startling period of ideological deviations in the mid 1980s under the leadership of



Nick Griffin and Patrick Harrington, the NF has actively shunned political modernisation or anything remotely dynamic that could affect or change its dour image. Surviving on a tiny budget provided by a membership of 400, the Equality and Human Rights Commission did not bother to pursue the organisation like it did the BNP over its similar policy of allowing white members only.

A key presence at a number of "unity meetings", the NF

has made little headway in recruiting the ten thousand ex-BNP members and officials who have deserted the BNP. One notable exception is the ageing Richard Edmonds, who last graced the party in 1980. Former chair and current BNP MEP Andrew Brons recently spoke at an NF meeting, but made it quite clear that although he had some emotional attachment to the party, he had very little political respect for the organisation he once led.

Whilst the BNP has been

## KEY POLITICS

- Repatriation of all non-white people and their dependants from the UK
- A ban on asylum seekers and refugees
- Withdrawal from the European Union and NATO
- A ban on mixed race marriages
- Outlawing homosexuality
- Banning of abortion
- Tearing up the Good Friday Agreement
- Ending of foreign aid
- Restoration of the death penalty (retroactively/retrospectively)
- Repealing of the 1967 Race Act (this used to be the NF's proposed first Act of Parliament) and all subsequent legislation promoting equality
- Curtailing trade union and workers' rights





critical of the rise of the English Defence League, the NF has been vehemently critical of what it describes as the EDL's 'Zionism' and of their supposed 'Anti-racism'. As a result, the NF has been keen to cosy up to the EDL's close rivals, The 'Infidels'. Newcastle NF organiser Simon Biggs was quick to use their muscle to intimidate trade unionists in the city, while Liverpool's Peter Tierney – another former BNP official who recently moved to the NF – has joined up with a variety of neo-nazis, Infidels and some EDL members to run similar campaigns of harassment and intimidation.

#### POLITICAL PARIHS

Political opportunities and recognition remain incredibly limited for the NF. Although avowedly 'democratic', the party puts little faith in the parliamentary process, although it has remained a legal organisation allowing it to receive regular electoral humiliations. Many of its most senior members in the 1980s and 1990s were driven to violent desperation at the

then hopeless outlook for the far-right electorally Britain. Most notably in relation to Northern Ireland, NF members gave very real and active support to those prepared to indulge in terrorism.

The NF stood 40 candidates at the 2012 elections in England, Scotland and Wales, including three candidates for the Greater London Assembly (GLA) elections and a candidate for the Liverpool Mayoral elections. Although the NF's average vote was under 5%, they did achieve noticeably high votes in former BNP strongholds, in particular Tipton Green in Sandwell (11.5%) and Deputy Chair Kevin Bryan's very respectable 16% in his home borough of Rossendale. Both candidates were formerly BNP candidates in these same wards. In February of this year however, the NF managed only three votes in a by-election seven votes less than the number of people who signed the candidate's nomination papers!

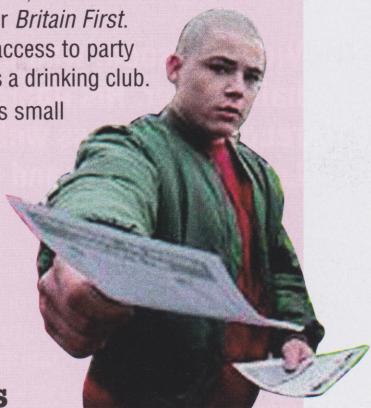
#### NATIONAL FRONT: PROFILES

##### MEMBERSHIP & ACTIVITY

The party's £10 membership fee has not changed in nearly twenty years. The estimated 400 members are encouraged to agitate in local communities by the use of protests, localised leaflets and sales of the bi-monthly newspaper *Britain First*. Few of the NF's branches have ready access to party materials and the party is often seen as a drinking club.

Party areas of activity are limited by its small size but include:

- Sandwell and Dudley
- Hull
- Liverpool
- Aberdeen
- Oldham
- Newcastle & North Tyneside
- Thurrock



##### INTERNAL STRUCTURES

The Party is led by an Executive Committee drawn from a Directorate, which advises the Chairman and Deputy Chairman. In 2010 both the Chair and Deputy Chair of the party were removed from their posts during a meeting held without their knowledge.

##### KEY PLAYERS

**Ian Edward, Chairman.** An ex-BNP official from West London. An unspectacular record in the far-right, mainly a figurehead.



**Kevin Bryan, Deputy Chair.** A loud middle aged street thug. Like Edward, a former low level BNP official.



**Richard Edmonds.** One of Britain's most infamous neo-nazis and Holocaust deniers, he returned to the party in 2011 having previously been the BNP's second in charge for most of the 80s and nineties.

**Simon Biggs, Newcastle.** Forty-something convicted burglar and race hater originally from south London. He has been in the NF and prison on and off since the 1980s. His rapid rise through the ranks was symptomatic of the NF's overall decline.



**Peter Tierney, Liverpool.** Also known as Peter Quiggins, he was the official NF mayoral candidate in Liverpool in 2012. Tierney was convicted of ABH in 2009 after attacking an anti-fascist. He became a millionaire when he sold Liverpool's Quiggins Centre in 2006.

**Chris Jackson, North West.** Ex North West regional organiser for the BNP, Jackson challenged Nick Griffin in a leadership election in 2007. Switching to the NF in 2009, Jackson is now the NF's NW organiser.

**Tess Culnane, London.** Veteran fascist and former "Nit-Nurse" Culnane has jumped backwards and forwards between the BNP and NF over a number of years. Served as an aide to Richard Barnbrook, the BNP's one time Greater London Assembly member, where she was dubbed a "Nazi Granny" by the media.

##### KEY AFFILIATES

- Blood & Honour
- Combat 18 /Racial Volunteer Force
- The 'Infidels'
- [individuals of] The English Defence League
- British Movement

# Vidal Sassoon

**Vidal Sassoon, who died in May at the age of 84, became a household name in the 1960s as a hairdresser. His liberating “wash and wear” geometric haircuts changed the industry beyond recognition. Less well-known was Sassoon’s anti-fascist activities which saw him fight on London’s streets and in Israel’s War of Independence, writes Steve Silver.**

**V**idal Sassoon made his name in the 1960s creating sharp looking low-maintenance women's hairstyles. He shaped the hair so that it would fall back into place, liberating fashion conscious women from back-combing, hair lacquer and weekly visits to the hairdressers. The most famous actresses and models of the period were given bob or five-point cuts by Sassoon. While his most well-known fashion association was with designer Mary Quant other famous clients included Twiggy, Jean Shrimpton and Mia Farrow.

With his boyish looks and mid-Atlantic accent advertising hairdressing products on television and his string of salons and training schools the Los Angeles based Vidal Sassoon might seem to have made an unlikely anti-fascist. However, Sassoon was born in the East End of London, grew up with a cockney accent and as an adult took elocution lessons to get ahead in an industry that was all about image.

Sassoon was born in Whitechapel, the heart of the Jewish East of London. His father abandoned the family when Vidal was five-years-old and they were plunged into poverty. For six years Vidal and his brother Ivor lived in an orphanage until his mother, Betty, remarried.

Sassoon started his hairdressing career when the family returned to London after being evacuated during the Blitz. They lived in a tenement above a bagel shop in Petticoat Lane. He recalled it as a happy time – after all the war was over – but it was spoilt by the return of fascists to Britain's streets.

Betty was instrumental in her son becoming a hairdresser. Like many young men he wanted to become a footballer, or perhaps more realistically, an architect, but she was insistent – after having a premonition – that the best profession for him was hairdressing and organised an apprenticeship with the highly-regarded Adolph Cohen. Sassoon was later to work for the flamboyant celebrity hairdresser Raymond “Teasy Weasy” Bessone in London's West

End who Sassoon credited as a major influence on his own hairdressing.

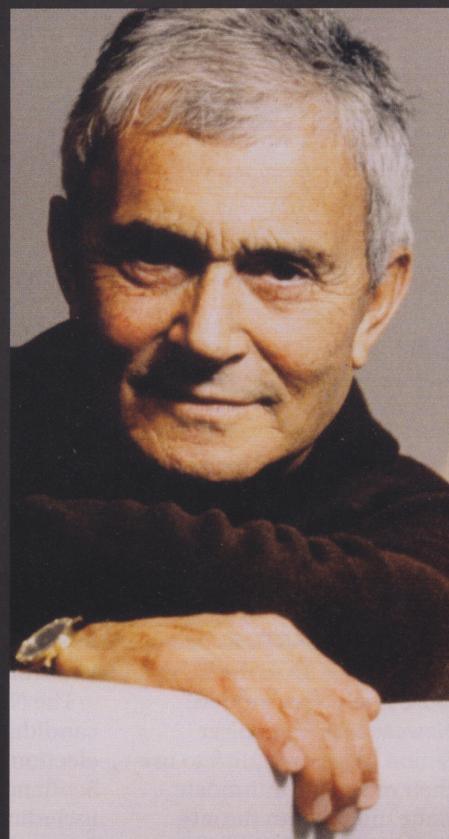
It was in the East End that Oswald Mosley's fascists made their forays in the 1930s and it was in nearby Hackney that they carried out much of their activity when they attempted a post war revival in the 1940s. Seventeen year old Sassoon joined the militant Jewish anti-fascist organisation – the 43 Group – and was involved in numerous “actions” where fighting took place as they attempted to stop the fascists organising. For decades Sassoon kept quiet about his youthful activities, a secret which comrades in the 43 Group who remembered him also kept. It wasn't until 1998, in an interview with anti-fascist journalist Julian Kossoff that he told his story.

The 43 Group was formed in 1946 as primarily an organisation of ex-servicemen; Jews who had fought in the Second World War and returned battle-hardened. When they saw that fascists who had been interned during the war as potential fifth-columnists were reorganising on London's streets they set out to ruthlessly crush them.

Sassoon was a teenager amongst tough men but joined in numerous forays, leading a double life of genteel hairdresser by day and anti-fascist militant by night. On one occasion his activities led him to be jailed:

“I remember the night we were told to go up to Kilburn [northwest London] to break up a fascist meeting. There was a real punch-up. We chased the Blackshirts into a pub, but we were being chased by the police. They arrested us, threw us in the van and started calling us ‘filthy foreign Jew bastards’. They beat the hell out of my old friend ‘Big Mo’ Levy and chucked us in the cell for the night.”

It was not only in his choice of profession that Sassoon's mother had influence. She was a supporter of the socialist-Zionist organisation Poale Zion and meetings were held in their home. It is not that surprising then when an officer from the elite Jewish



fighting force in then Palestine – the Palmach – visited London to recruit for Israel's impending War of Independence, Sassoon volunteered.

In Palestine Sassoon underwent two months of rigorous training before fighting in the war. He was later to describe it as “probably the best thing I've ever done in my life.”

Sassoon returned to London where he went back to hairdressing and forged a career which was to turn him into an international celebrity and multi-millionaire. Yet he still retained a commitment to fighting fascism and antisemitism. In 1982 he founded the Vidal Sassoon International Center for the Study of Antisemitism.

■ *Vidal Sassoon, hairstylist and anti-fascist, born 17 January 1928; died 9 May 2012*

**50  
YEARS ON**

# The führers who failed to wake up Britain

## Trafalgar Square 1 July 1962

By Steve Silver



Dressed in brown shirts with sunwheel armbands, and sporting army boots, the men who would be führers strutted onto the plinth at Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square on 1 July 1962 to make their speeches. Behind them were banners declaring "Free Britain from Jewish Control" and "Britain Awake".

The huge bronze lion statues that stood either side of the speakers had witnessed many a political rally in their time, but never one quite like this. Since the birth of the modern labour movement in the late 1880s all manner of demonstrations had taken place there. Less than a year earlier the 89-year-old philosopher Bertrand Russell and the Committee of 100 had led a demonstration of thousands, opposing nuclear weapons, in defiance of a government ban.

But there was no government ban on this rally. Organised by Colin Jordan's openly nazi National Socialist Movement (NSM) – which had been formed a few months earlier – on 20 April, the anniversary of the birth of Adolf Hitler, the spectacle brought out television cameras, photographers and reporters.

Most of the 5000-strong audience were not there in support of the speakers but to oppose them. Fascist supporters numbered around 800. Hundreds of anti-fascists got as close to the platform as they could so they could make their feelings known.

### GERMANY CALLING

The first speaker was Denis Pirie, who jabbed his finger and waved his arms as he spoke in an excited high-pitched voice, trying to cut through the torrent of abuse and slogans from the crowd. As he ended his speech by shouting "Heil Hitler" the police could barely keep control as coins, tomatoes, eggs and apples rained down on the platform.

Next up was John Tyndall who, with arms folded, listed the trades in which Jews were predominant and said that they were the "assassin of Europe" and like a "poisonous maggot" in society. As he spat out his words a missile cut him as it landed above his eye.

And lastly there was the NSM leader, Colin Jordan. He believed that it was only the suppression of nazi ideas that stopped the British people supporting his movement. Now was his chance to sway a big audience.

Jordan said that Hitler was right and that Britain should have been fighting world Jewry and its associates in the Second World War and not Germany. But he cut an unimpressive figure and was a poor orator and repeated much of what had been said by the previous speakers. As he drew his speech towards its conclusion with a lengthy praise of Hitler the police intervened and shut the meeting.



### PITCHED BATTLES

Pandemonium ensued as the fascists attempted to leave the Square. Six fascist youths clambered onto the back of an army-style truck belonging to the NSM. The crowd tried to overturn the vehicle and nearly succeeded. It was a three way fight between the fascists, the anti-fascists and the police. The fascists in the truck struck out with banner poles and then when the driver managed to pull away raised their arms in the Nazi salute.

While all the attention was focussed on the fighting at the truck the speakers were arrested and charged for insulting words likely to cause a breach of the peace. The spectacle ended with 20 arrests, further fighting and bloody faces.

The following month the speakers were given short prison sentences under the Public Order Act 1936. Later that year the Trafalgar Square speakers were again to be arrested and convicted for organising a paramilitary force. Before the first trial Jordan decided to create additional publicity by announcing that the NSM was organising a summer camp where an international nazi conference would be held.

Horrified anti-fascists in the labour movement and the Jewish community put pressure on the government and as a result international delegates to the conference were banned from entering Britain. However, the NSM still managed to smuggle American nazi leader Lincoln Rockwell into the country, although he was deported before the event took place.

The intention of the nazi conference was to set up a World Union of National Socialists. Those who made it to the campsite near Temple Guiting in the Cotswolds elected Colin Jordan as world führer and Rockwell as his heir. The decisions of the conference became known as the 'Cotswold Agreement'. The stated object of WUNS was to form an international 'combat efficient' organisation to oppose 'international Jewish communism' and Zionism and to promote the Aryan race. Its long term plan was unity of the white race in a world apartheid system.

Less than 20 years after the defeat of Nazi Germany disciples of Adolf Hitler were openly organising in Britain. However, just as the Trafalgar Square rally galvanised Britain's small band of nazis, it also heralded a new wave of militant anti-fascism.

# The 62 Group

## Jewish anti-fascists fight back

By Steve Silver

THERE HAD BEEN talk for some time among old activists from the anti-fascist 43 Group, and newer activists, of forming an organisation to combat the new wave of fascism that had sprung up in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The 43 Group had dissolved itself in 1950 after the fascists had been soundly driven into the ground and for most of the 1950s they had barely raised their head and therefore the need for a militant anti-fascist organisation was not really there.

Then in 1958 fascists were involved in the "race riots" in the Notting Hill area and Nottingham targeting immigrants from the Caribbean. Their activities left a young Antiguan, Kelso Cochrane, dead.

### Birth of the 1962 Committee

Opposing immigration gave the fascists a shot in the arm, but for Britain's diehard nazis "coloured immigration" was not the problem itself but a symptom of the problem. They believed that immigration was a Jewish plot to dilute the white race.

Colin Jordan decided to get to the nub of the issue when he declared war on the Jews at the Trafalgar Square rally on 1 July 1962, but it was a war that he was not about to win. For that meeting proved the catalyst that sparked Jewish anti-fascists into action and the following month they formed a new organisation, the 1962 Committee, or 62 Group, as it became more commonly known.

The disruption of the NSM's Trafalgar Square meeting in July now turned out to not be the end but the beginning of a process which saw Jewish anti-fascists and their allies infiltrate and attack fascist meeting after meeting throughout the 1960s.

When Oswald Mosley, Britain's pre-war fascist leader, saw that fascists were

openly organising in Britain again, he too wanted some of the action but his meetings too were unceremoniously attacked by an increasingly well organised anti-fascist force.

### Infiltrating and attacking the enemy

Fascist organisations were infiltrated under the tutelage of a former 43 Group activist and ex-serviceman, Harry Bidney, who ended up running a string of agents deep inside the enemy organisations. In charge of breaking up the fascist meetings was Cyril Paskin, who had served in the Second World War in Burma and whose military bearing and booming voice made him the perfect choice for 62 Group Field Commander. Funds were raised by Maurice Essex, a veteran of the anti-fascist campaigns in the East End of London decades earlier, and Baron Moss who had cut his teeth working on publicity for the *Daily Worker*.

Sanctioning their activities was Rabbi Lesley Hardman, a former army chaplain who had also been chaplain to the 43 Group. Rabbi Hardman was with the British troops when they liberated the Belsen concentration camp. He became 62 Group chaplain too.

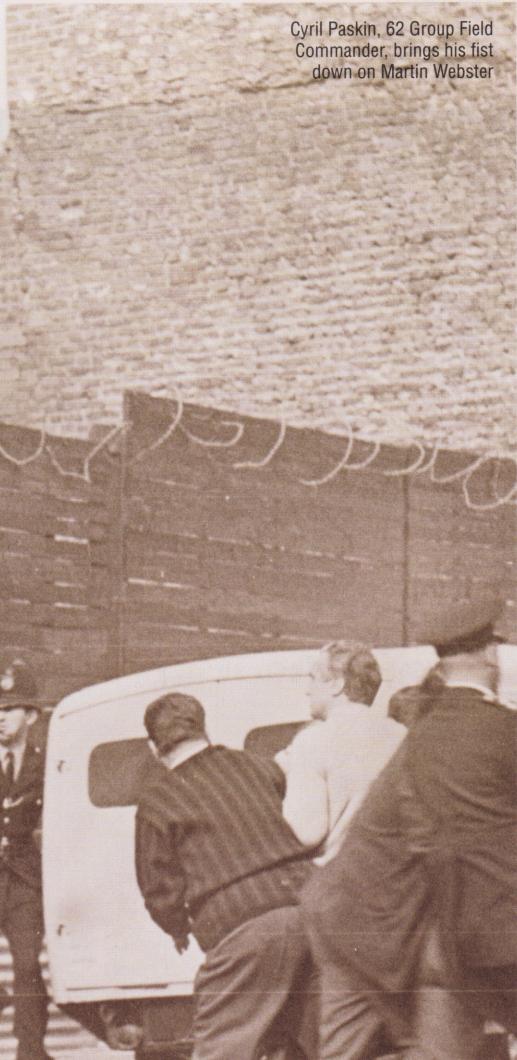
The 62 Group broke up numerous fascist meetings and soon terrified all but the most hardened of nazis from popping their heads up above the parapet. Membership lists fell into the hands of the anti-fascist movement when 62 Group activists raided the headquarters of Oswald Mosley's Union Movement, the British National Party and the National Socialist Movement. Printing presses were also unceremoniously destroyed in the dead of the night.

With arsons being carried out on



**50  
YEARS ON**

The 62 Group's record of fighting off anti-Semitic attacks in the 1960s and 70s has been largely forgotten. But its legacy lives on.



Cyril Paskin, 62 Group Field Commander, brings his fist down on Martin Webster

synagogues and serious provocations against Britain's Jews, the Jewish community needed a force that could physically defend it. And it found it the 62 Group. The antisemites soon discovered – often after being introduced to the pavement – that the stereotype of the weak, cowardly Jew was just another Nazi myth.

But it wasn't only about violence. The 62 Group's intelligence was used to help convict two groups of nazi arsonists in 1965 and 1966 for attacking numerous Jewish properties. This work was recognised by the court when after one of the trials the judge asked for somebody from the Group to come forward to receive the court's thanks, and intelligence officer Harry Bidney took the honours.

#### A positive force in communal defence

The official Jewish communal leadership found it difficult to accept an independent organisation of gung-ho street fighting anti-fascists and as with the 43 Group there was open hostility, most notably in the letters pages of the *Jewish Chronicle*. But after the arson trials it became clear that the Group was a positive force in communal defence and the *Jewish Chronicle* subsequently ran an editorial praising their work.

The Group also came to realise that the level of funding needed to carry out defence work properly could only come with the approval of the communal leadership. With the realisation that both sides would benefit from working together, they eventually buried their differences and began coordinating activities. The legacy of this period can be found in the work of the Community Security Trust, Searchlight and HOPE not hate.

# Remembering the Holocaust



**Karen Pollock** is Chief Executive of the Holocaust Educational Trust, an exceptional organisation that seeks to remind people of the horrors of the Holocaust and in the process challenge racism and prejudice today.  
Interview by *Ruth Smeeth*.



England players walk through the infamous entrance at Auschwitz

## Tell me a little bit about the Holocaust Educational Trust

The Holocaust Educational Trust (HET) was founded in 1988 by two then MPs, the tireless Greville Janner, who is now our Founding Patron – and the late Merlyn Rees, who was Home Secretary in Jim Callaghan's government. We were founded during a time when pressure was building for a War Crimes Act in this country – and while progress was being made in the fight to ensure that Nazi war criminals could not settle in the UK with impunity, there remained a great deal of general ignorance about the Holocaust.

Our principle focus is on schools and colleges and one of our first achievements was ensuring that the Holocaust had a place on the National Curriculum when it was introduced in 1991.

### How did you get involved?

I formally joined the Trust in 2000 as Communications Director, but from childhood Holocaust education was always an issue I felt passionate about.

While at university I was involved in campaigning against antisemitism and racism on campus with the Union of Jewish Students and National Union of Students. I then began working with the Parliamentary Committee Against Antisemitism.

I feel genuinely privileged over the past decade to have been able to play a part in helping to raise awareness and understanding of the Holocaust.

### Surely everyone knows the Holocaust happened?

Basic understanding of the Holocaust has undoubtedly increased in the past twenty-five years but unfortunately ignorance and misinformation remain. In many ways the Holocaust and its aftermath has shaped the modern world; legally, politically and culturally – it's a shared legacy and one which requires on-going effort to ensure that it is properly understood.

### How has HET evolved over the last few years?

Whilst originally a port of call for teachers, we are now a leading authority on Holocaust education in the UK and our impact is far reaching.

Over the past couple of decades we have seen some real achievements that have made a difference both to our work and to the lives of other people. We campaigned to have the assets of Holocaust victims and survivors held in British banks released and

returned to their owners and heirs. We helped to secure an annual national commemoration in the UK of the Holocaust in 2001: Holocaust Memorial Day, marked each year on January 27<sup>th</sup>, the anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau. And since 2006, through our Lessons from Auschwitz Project, we have given two students from every school and college in the country the opportunity to see for themselves the site of the largest mass-murder in human history, Auschwitz-Birkenau.

In the past year alone we've trained over 1,200 teachers and arranged for more than 58,000 students to hear from a Holocaust survivor at their school or college.

*"Textbooks are important for learning about the Holocaust, but what facts and statistics alone can't convey are the millions of individual stories which make up the Holocaust."*

### What impact do the Holocaust survivors have on the young people you teach?

We say it all the time, but it's true – when a Holocaust survivor speaks to a group of young people you can hear a pin drop. In even the most challenging of schools, students listen to the experiences of survivors in awed silence. The experiences they're describing are often unimaginably terrible and the courage and dignity they exemplify while they're giving their testimony is just something to behold.

Textbooks are important for learning about the Holocaust, but what facts and statistics alone can't convey are the millions of individual stories which make up the Holocaust.

### You recently arranged for the England football team to visit Auschwitz. How did the players react?

The players could not help but be taken aback by what they saw and what they learnt. Wayne Rooney was particularly moved as a parent to see the clothes and shoes of children murdered at the camp and he really recognised that he and the players are role models to young people – and that they can make a difference.

Afterwards he said: "If that helps a few more people to understand what happened at Auschwitz then that's good. It will never be forgotten".

Before flying out, the England players heard from two incredible Holocaust survivors before leaving for Poland, Zigi Shipper and Ben Helfgott MBE – which was a really moving event. It set the context for their visit to Auschwitz and to the Schindler Factory in Krakow the following week.

Over the coming months we are going to be working with the Football Association to develop an educational resource which will be made available in schools and colleges across the country

### What is next for HET?

Our mission is to reach out to every community across the country and to ensure that no young person is left ignorant of what took place during the Holocaust. That's a huge task and one which is enough in itself to keep us busy!

Holocaust survivors are ageing and growing less able to speak in schools, that's why we are working with Steven Spielberg's Shoah Foundation to produce 'Recollections: Eyewitnesses remember the Holocaust,' a DVD-Rom containing filmed survivor testimony. As the Holocaust moves from living history to just history, we need to redouble our efforts to pass on what happened to future generations.

We have also started working with the sons and daughters of Holocaust survivors, giving them the training and guidance they need to pass on their parents' stories in classrooms.

Another challenge, of course, is extremism. Some of our programmes, like the Think Equal Project, are designed specifically to work in communities affected by social and ethnic tensions.

### Do you have a message for HOPE not hate readers?

Your readers and HOPE not hate activists across the country do an incredible job in countering racism and extremism today. They have a powerful legacy of British anti-fascism behind them, fighting fascism at the ballot box just as their predecessors opposed Mosley's blackshirts on the streets.

Each of us has a role to play in doing what we can to combat hatred, be it through education or activism – and we all need to remain vigilant to what are ever-evolving threats to vulnerable communities and to social cohesion generally.



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